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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

FIFTEENTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA

PART III.—THE TOMBS OF HUYA AND AHMES

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES

With an Appendix on the Greek Graffiti by

SEYMOUR DE RICCI

FORTY PLATES.

LONDON

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1905

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THE ROCK TOMBS

OF

EL AMARNA

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THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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* *Photographic plates.*

Note.—All the lithographed plates are reduced from scale drawings except Plates xxv., xxxii., xxxiiA., which are from tracings, and Plate xxxv., which is from hand copies.

PREFACE.

A WORK such as that of which the present volume forms an instalment can hardly be satisfactorily advanced without incurring many obligations. The ready assistance which has been rendered I now gratefully acknowledge, and in the first and foremost place express my thanks to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund for enabling me not only to carry the enterprise so far with all the thoroughness which I ventured to think such a publication demanded, but also to look forward to a completion of the whole necropolis of El Amarna on the same scale. It is a privilege to serve a large body of subscribers in a scientific project of this magnitude. With regard to details of the work, I have to thank Professor Steindorff for permission to reproduce a photograph in Part II. (the upper picture of Plate xxvi.); to M. de Ricci for contributing an appendix to this volume in a department with which he is peculiarly qualified to deal; to M. Maspero for many facilities and suggestions, and to Professor Petrie for putting his knowledge and records of the site at my disposal. Mr. Griffith has been, as ever, an ideal Editor, and the credit is specially his if the translations embodied in the work have kept pace with the linguistic advances of recent years.

I have also to express my regret to the memory of Champollion for failing to notice that some inaccuracies in his great work are in fact due to another hand than his, and to Signor Barsanti for being ignorant of a paper, "*Sulla scoperta della tomba del Faraone Amenofi IV.*," contributed by him in 1894 to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. The articles of the late M. Bouriant on the tomb of Rames at Qurneh (*Recueil* vi., p. 53, and *Revue Archéologique*, May, 1882, p. 279) should be added to the bibliography in Part I., as well as the new volume of the *Institut Français* (dated 1903, but published in March, 1905), "*Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte*,"[1] this title having been courteously adopted by M. Chassinat to avoid clashing with that of the present work.

I do not feel that any apology is needed for the general method of reproduction employed in this work. At the cost of some unsightliness I feel bound to enable the student to distinguish as clearly as possible between the extant picture and any restorations that may be considered desirable. But as a distinguished critic has assured the public that I do not intend the irregularly broken lines of an injured scene to represent the exact state of the wall, it is necessary for me to insist that this is what I have attempted, to the best of my ability; conceiving that it is my duty to be everywhere the copyist and not the artist, or to give plain notice of the lapse.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.

[1] Cited in this work as "*Le Culte d'Atonou.*"

THE
ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF HUYA ( ).

A. Architectural Features.

Plates i., xxv., xxxvi.[1]

Previous copies are :—
Hay, *MSS.* 29,847, foll. 46, 47 (plans).
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 275, 277, 278 (fragmentary).

The Exterior.—The situation of the tomb of Huya has been already described.[2] It lies immediately to the North of the tomb of the later Meryra[3]; both tombs being very similar in type and plan and aligned roughly North and South. The tomb of Huya was probably excavated, or at least decorated, a year or two earlier than its neighbour. The façade is now too much worn to retain inscriptions.

Interior. The Hall.—In the entrance way, as in the hall within, the surface of the lower part of the wall has scaled away badly, completely destroying the scenes and inscriptions there. The hall is of small dimensions; but as originally designed and executed its bright colouring must have given it a very pleasing aspect, in strong contrast to its present filth-encrusted and ruinous state.

The entrance to the hall from outside has no framing, but the passage to the inner rooms is furnished with the usual inscribed portal. The cornice above the lintel is painted with nine horizontal bands (red, blue, green, blue, in order), the upright plumes being marked out by black vertical lines. The pediment above is decorated with bands of floral design: a section of it is given on Plate xxv. c. The architraves are not inscribed.

The floor of the hall is very rough, but no doubt it was originally covered with a pavement of red plaster.

The Columns.—Two columns supported the ceiling through architraves of rock, and the consequent division of the hall into a central passage with side aisles was emphasised by giving to the centre section greater height and a gable roof of very low pitch. Only one column now remains, and this has lost its base (Plate xxxvi.); the other has been destroyed up to the abacus. The relatively low height of the hall entailed a certain degree of squatness, especially in the capital, but the omission of the tablet from the shaft is some compensation for

[1] In Plate i. I have made considerable use of plans prepared by Mr. John Newberry in 1892.

[2] Part I., pp. 2, 7; Part II., p. 3. The tomb is No. 1 of the present numeration, No. 7 of Lepsius, No. 6 of L'Hôte, "Tomb A" of Hay.

[3] Part II., p. 33.

this. In general the column closely resembles the form used in the adjoining tomb (II. xxviii.), but the sheathing leaves of the calyx as well as those at the base are marked with the chisel. This adornment of the capital by sixteen overlapping sets of sheaths is effective,[1] but so far from realistic that the sculptor was undecided whether to allow science or art to prevail. After having spread them round the whole capital, he cut them away again from the eight central stems, and then, repenting, restored them in plaster. Impartial time has now left them on one side and removed them on the other. The colour has disappeared; but on each stem a central rib, tapering from a broad base, was shown in paint (brown to represent the withered sheath?).[2]

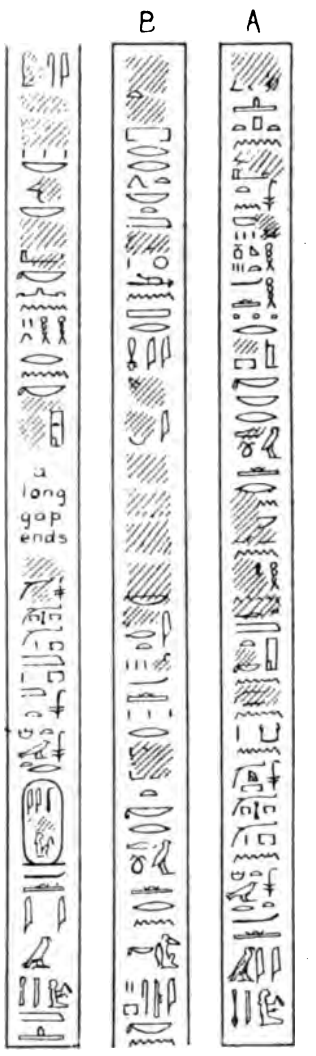
THE CEILINGS.—The brilliant colours which once adorned the ceiling are partially retained on the soffits of the architraves. The patterns of the central aisle and of the entrance cannot be recovered. That on the soffits is given in Plate XXV. A, and that on the ceiling of the East aisle in Plate XXV. F.[3] The ceiling of the inner shrine was decorated in the manner shown in Plate XXV. K.

The design in the central aisle is divided in the middle by a column of incised hieroglyphs, and similar columns run down the centre of the ceilings of the three wall-thicknesses. They are scarcely legible, and I append transcripts and translations of them with diffidence.

A. (Entrance). "[A reception of] offerings[4] of the King's giving (?), loaves, beer, and provisions at every place of thine. May thy name (?) flourish; may it not be to seek (?) in thine abode of eternity (?).

"For the *ka* of the Superintendent of the harem, of the Double Treasury, and of the house of the great royal wife (Tyi), Huya, *maakheru*."

B. (Hall). "[A reception of offerings], all manner of things that are offered [in the presence] of Ua-en-ra, beloved like the Aten(?) . . . . . milk (?) and provisions for thy [burial?]. May thy name flourish [in] thy chapel; may [every generation] call [thee (?)]. . . . . May thy name not be to seek in thine abode . . . . . [For the *ka* of the] Superintendent of the royal harem and of the Double Treasury and Steward in the house of the queen-mother and great royal wife Tyi, Huya, *maakheru* in peace."



Only the name and titles of Huya are legible in the other two cases.

THE SECOND CHAMBER.—This is provided with shallow architraves, but no columns. At the East end the mouth of a burial shaft opens in a ledge of rock, which is thus made to serve as a protecting parapet. The well is almost empty, and about 36 feet deep. The chamber can be seen at the bottom opening out to the West; but I did not descend. There is a ledge of rock left at the West end of the room also; but it is rough and too narrow to contain a shaft.

THE SHRINE (Plates i., xix., xxxvi.).—The doorway to the terminal chamber is seldom decorated in this necropolis, perhaps for lack of time; but here it is fully inscribed. The form of the doorway also is unusual, though occasionally met with in the earlier tombs; and it befits the situation, for it is the same that is frequently given to the main doorways in

---

[1] The idea is taken from the single-stemmed papyrus column.

[2] Hay partly colours his column, but the data seem to have been insecure.

[3] I hope to give coloured representations of the ceiling patterns of the necropolis in a subsequent volume.

[4] For these two very similar inscriptions consult Plate XX. (E. thickness) where the same phrases occur.

private houses.[1] Hence we may gather that the construction was usually in wood, though the arch of the characteristic upper part suggests that the original type was in brick-work. This superstructure seems to carry out the idea of a panelled wall in two stages, each crowned with a cornice of uraei. In the lower wall there are two openings (in which columns are painted here). No doubt the purpose of this fan-shaped lattice was to admit light and air, the panels being left open or filled with fretwork designs. The designs used for the purpose are very varied; here they include several derived from the papyrus, cartouches, and columns.[2]

The jambs are decorated with blue hieroglyphs on a wine-coloured ground (representing rose-granite?); but they have been much mutilated in recent times. The drum is made to represent a bundle of reeds (blue with red bands). So weak a material can have been used as a lintel only in very rude buildings, and perhaps it rather represents the rolled-up mat which every campaigner in Egypt uses to close the doorway of his mud-brick hut.[3]

The shrine contains a sitting statue of the deceased man, which with its pedestal occupies almost the entire space in both height and length. It is much mutilated and the face has been entirely cut away.

THE SCULPTURE.—The three portals, the thicknesses of the three cross-walls, and the whole wall-surface of the main hall and of the shrine were decorated with scenes and inscriptions. The work was by no means of the first quality, though perhaps better than its present condition induces one to suppose; and while the minute workmanship of such a scene as that on Plate xviii. showed what care and labour could achieve, most of the smaller work is but rudely executed. The scenes cover the walls to within a short distance from the floor, and where space permitted they were framed in borders of parallel blue and red lines.

The vacant space round the altar on the East wall has been utilized by Greek visitors for scrawling graffiti on in black ink (Plate xxv. B, D, E). The names are dealt with by M. de Ricci on p. 34. Most prominent are two rude figures of Anubis, for which the two porticoes of the temple (see Plate x.) are made to serve as pedestals. One of them sits enthroned; the other stands. The latter is furnished with a shirt, and wears a hat or halo on his head, and boots upon his feet. What he holds in his hand is not clear.

B. THE SCULPTURED SCENES.

1.—THE PRAYERS OF HUYA.

The Wall-Thicknesses. Plates ii., iii. xx., xxi., xxxvii.

A previous copy is:—
L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, iii. 277.

It will be convenient to deal at once with the decorations on the six wall-spaces afforded by the passages through the cross-walls. In the northern necropolis (except in II., vii., viii.) these places are occupied by standing figures of the deceased in act of prayer, and by the prayer itself set out in vertical columns; the figure facing outwards as if coming out to enjoy a sight of his divinity, the sun.

In this tomb, however, the figures in the entrance to the shrine, a space elsewhere left undecorated, face inwards. This exceptional attitude is proper to the position, and well illustrates the Egyptian conceptions of the

---

[1] Cf. Plates xxvii., xxxiii.; Part I., Plate xxxii. and p. 39; Part II. p. 5; WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, I., p. 356; L. *D.*, iii. 82; PETRIE, *Decorative Art*, p. 95. A fine example of such a door was found this year in the excavations of Deir el Bahri. These doors seem to be the true representatives of the decorated false doors of Old Kingdom tombs.

[2] Compare the common design of the two joined papyrus-heads in the panels of false doors in Old Kingdom times.

[3] Cf. II. xxi., where a similar bundle is seen below the cartouches on a lintel.

after-life; for when the spirit of the deceased which haunts the mummy in the sepulchral chamber feels free to roam, it must escape by the burial shaft in the middle chamber, and so turns *inward* to the shrine but *outward* to the open air. These scenes thus indicate the middle chamber as the dwelling-place of the dead.

The dress of Huya is identical in the four cases where he comes forth to pray. He wears a long robe confined on the hips by a sash, which has a decorative edging on the upper hem and is fringed at both ends.[1] Plate iii. shows a more realistic rendering of the knot in front than is usual; the looped end is seen pressed against the body, instead of being shown in profile as in Plate xx. The toilet of Huya is completed by sandals, a long wig, the tall festal cone or cap[2] which a fillet keeps in place, four rows of gold beads round the neck, and a gold bracelet on each wrist.

In the other two cases (Plate xx.), where Huya is not engaged in prayer, but entering his private room, he wears the gown tucked up and showing a tunic beneath it. He carries a staff and wears four flat gold bands on the right fore-arm, instead of the single bracelet (see also Plate xvii.). He seems to hold a lotus in the other hand.

We may also conveniently deal here with the adjacent (South) wall of the shrine itself (Plate xxi.). Here on either side of the doorway is a kneeling female figure, who seems to salute Huya as he enters his private apartments. One is "his sister, the lady of the house, Un-her, *maatkheru*"; the other "his [wife],[3] the lady of the house, Tuy, *maatkheru*."[4]

[1] Cf. Part I., pp. 10, 11. The fringe of the looped end of the sash is seen on the Semites in II. xxxv., for it is not a handkerchief as I suggested.

[2] On Plate xii. the cap is streaked with red at the top.

[3] Probably, since "sister" is not determined by a sitting woman. Perhaps "his mother." Cf. Pl. xxii.

[4] Cf. L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 141.

Above the head of each is a table, on which an enormous array of loaves is stiffly displayed round a cone or piled to that form.[5] The pile is adorned with a fashionable frill near the top.

Huya's own name is written large over the doorway.

The texts will be dealt with on pp. 17, 18.

2. A Royal Banquet.

South Wall. East side. Plates iv., v.
Previous copies are:—
Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. pp. 470, 476.
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 12 (published in Amélineau, *Sépulture*, pl. 100).
Lepsius, *D.*, iii. 100, c, d.[6]
Prisse, *L'Art Egyptien*, ii. 27.

As the absence hitherto of any mention or figure of Queen Tyi from the walls of the tombs of El Amarna shows that she was not resident in Akhetaten at the time of their formation, the existence of this tomb of the highest official of her household, and the special honour which is accorded to her in its scenes, indicate that late in the reign of Akhenaten she paid a state visit to the new capital, and even suggest that she had come to take up her abode or set up an establishment there.[7]

But whether the visit of Tyi were longer or shorter, and whether Huya or the king had the greater voice in the choice of subjects for the walls of the tomb, it is plain that both welcomed the event and regarded it as of the highest importance. To the king this open avowal of the queen-dowager's sympathy with the religious revolution was an event

[5] Or a pile of loaves under a conical cover. Cf. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, I. xlii.

[6] Whence the restoration of Plate iv.

[7] "A House of Tyi" is mentioned on a sherd (Petrie, *T. A.*, p. 33, and plate xxii.), and there is a rough cartouche of hers in a quarry from which perhaps the stone for this house was taken (*ib.* plate xlii.) The deduction drawn from it on p. 4 seems far too bold. High up in the same quarry is the figure of a man issuing from a door like that of Plate xix.

of the utmost political significance, and Huya could not but rejoice on private grounds at the complete harmony which reigned between his sovereign and his mistress. The importance of the visit to both king and subject is reflected on every wall save one, where another event of public interest found record.

As the pleasures of the table naturally form the most prominent feature of the decoration of the private tomb at all times, it is not surprising that this side of life in the palace has a place in the representations of the royal family. We meet with it elsewhere (Plate xxxiv. and IV. x.), and the idea of II. xxxii. was probably borrowed from the adjoining wall here. In addition, banqueting must have played a large part in the welcome accorded to the Queen-mother by Akhenaten.

In the scene here the King and Nefertiti sit on high-backed chairs on the left-hand of the picture, facing Tyi.[1] By the side of each is a table covered with a green cloth and stacked high with provisions of every sort. Yet the appetite of the royal pair would seem to justify even this enormous pile; for while Akhenaten attacks with his teeth a broiled bone as long as his arm, Nerfertiti makes as direct an onslaught on a fair-sized bird. Proportional size, as depicted by an Egyptian draughtsman, however, is the weakest possible basis for conclusions, and if we miss a refinement which it would be foolish to expect, neither must we settle by eye the measure of the apparent grossness.[2] Those who malevolently destroyed the faces of the royal figures here may have saved Tyi from a similar charge of gluttony, but her action appears more genteel. Drink also is abundantly provided for each person in large jars set on stands. Wherever two or more such jars are placed together, a strip of blue or patterned cloth is cast round them, apparently as a decorative method of steadying these unstable vessels. Akhenaten and Nefertiti wear a simple head-dress, whereas Tyi is crowned with the double plumes and the horned disc. She is entitled "mother of a King (i.e. Akhenaten) and great wife of a King (i.e. Amenhetep III.), Tyi, living for ever and ever."[3] The sun extends his rays over all the participants, over their food, and over an offering which has been set aside for himself.

By the side of Tyi sits "the daughter of the (late) King, begotten and beloved by him, Beketaten," who receives food from her mother's hand.[4] Her presence here is balanced by that of two of her nieces who also are privileged to sit by their mother's chair. The elder is Meryt-aten; the other, who is much smaller, is probably Nefer-neferu-aten.[5] Huya himself, as Tyi's chamberlain, is personally serving his mistress, receiving the dishes, or rather meats, from the corresponding official of the palace.

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[1] The lion's head, in which Lepsius's artist, Georgi (followed by Prisse), makes the seat of the chair terminate, is quite fictitious.

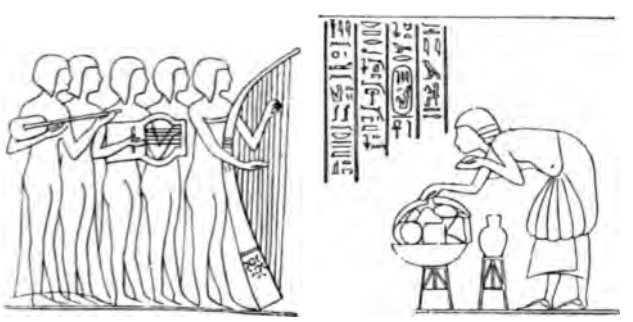
[2] Cf. the Egyptian ideas of festivity cited by ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 255.

[3] The irregular arrangement of the hieroglyphs which is frequently seen in the Queen's title gave rise to the untenable supposition that Tyi was "royal mother of the great queen" (i.e. of Nefertiti).

[4] The appearance of Beketaten only in the company of Tyi, and the absence of the inevitable "born of Nefertiti" from her description, make it certain that she was not the daughter of Nefertiti, and but little less than certain that she was the daughter of Tyi. That her father was Amenhetep III. is finally proved by the scene in Plate xviii. The difference of age between herself and her brother Akhenaten (twelve from twenty-eight, say) creates no difficulty, though she must have been born late in life to Amenhetep III. or even posthumously. Her father need not have been responsible for the name she bears here, involving recognition of the cult of Aten. See PETRIE, *History*, ii., pp. 203-4 (contrary to the earlier *T. A.*, p. 39).

[5] The four daughters who are assigned to Nefertiti in this tomb are probably seen on the South as on the North wall, two on each side of the doorway (contrary to the statement in Part I., p. 42.) The food which was between their hands here was only painted and has disappeared.

The scenes in the background of the hall are shown in the lower registers (Plate v.). Here we see the larder filled with jars of beer and wine, boxes of cakes, tables of meats, etc., from which officials are supplying the waiters. With the precaution habitual in the East, the viands are tasted both by the palace officials [1] (lower row) and by Huya himself after them (upper row) before they are placed on the royal tables. Huya is styled "the favourite of Ua-en-ra, following the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands in every place that he loveth, the Superintendent of the royal harem, of the



Treasury, and of the house of the Queen-mother and great royal wife, Tyi, the living one." [2]

Two bands of performers on stringed instruments are in attendance, the one native, the other apparently foreign. The presence of the latter might be explained by the gathering of foreign embassies which is recorded on the West wall, and may have synchronized with, and afforded a partial reason for, Tyi's visit. But as here and in Plate vii. they are placed on Tyi's side over against the palace musicians, they are more likely to have come in her train.

The court band, which we have already met with in II. xxxii. and shall see again in Plates vii. and xxxiii., consists of four female performers, a harpist, two players on the lute, and one on the lyre.[3] The other performers are manifestly foreigners, both by dress and instruments (compare Plate vii.); for though the form of the lyre cannot be said to differ from that used in Egypt, the latter appears to have been a foreign importation in New Kingdom times.[4] This indication of an eastern origin is supported by their flounced dress. The group unfortunately is sculptured in the roughest possible way, so that neither dress nor instruments have very definite outlines. The curious head-gear, whether it be dressed hair (black), or a cap with a fillet round it, somewhat resembling the *tarbush* and handkerchief which are common in Egypt to-day, is most nearly paralleled in representations of the Shasu (Bedawin) and the Tursha (inhabitants of Asia Minor?).[5] It will be remembered that the earliest representation of the lyre shows it in the hands of Bedawin.[6]

One of the six performers bears a lute, and one other at least a lyre of six strings, but the chief instrument is an immense standing lyre, the full height of a man. It is in charge of two men in Plate vii., one of whom, however, may only be steadying the instrument. It is played with both hands. It has an octave of strings and is mounted on an ornamental stand in the form of a vase. The keyed frame at the top is supported on two rods shaped like spears, instead of on the curved gazelle's heads usual with the lyre. Both, it may be remarked, are designs natural to a desert people.

Dado.—It is a peculiarity of this tomb that on the South, East, and West sides the very foot of the wall is occupied by a scene in a single register, which has nothing to do, so far as can

[1] The chief of these will be met with again. The shaven head may have been imposed on officials of the kitchen as well as on priests, for the sake of cleanliness (see Petrie, *T. A.*, pl. v.).

[2] The inscription has been removed in modern times. It is inserted in the above restoration from a squeeze of Lepsius (L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 139).

[3] The group is perfect in L'Hôte's copy. See restoration above.

[4] Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 253.

[5] Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 380, 381.

[6] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i., xxxi.

be seen, with the scene above, or with the life of the deceased. Its irrelevance is marked on the South wall by the intervention of the coloured border between it and the main scene. The supplementary scene on this wall shows the summer life of the peasants in the fields. Like the modern fellah, they have erected a little shelter of straw or wattle under a tree, provided with the few utensils for baking, etc., which are all that they require. The animals tethered outside being exposed to the attacks of wild beasts, a spring-trap (?) is set in the vicinity; yet none the less watch is desirable, and we see the herdsman chasing away a marauding hyaena or jackal. The women sit outside the hut beside the bushes winnowing the corn. Further afield others of their number, accompanied by the family cow, are gleaning amongst the stubble. Their men also are busy reaping, the lazy one of the number jesting with the others or quaffing from the beer-jar.

3.—An Evening Entertainment.

South wall. West side. Plates vi., vii.

A previous copy is:—
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 10 (published by Amélineau, *Sépulture*, pl. ci.).

We have here a companion picture to that of Plate iv. As before, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, with the two princesses Ankhes-en-pa-aten and Meket-aten (?), sit over against their guests, the Queen-dowager and her little daughter. The elders have been served with wine and are drinking it from goblets, which servants who wait with napkins are ready to replenish from narrow jars (cf. II., xxxii). Huya is present and directs the servants with his wand of office (?). Low stands of eatables also are set by the chairs for the use of the children, who apparently are not allowed the wine. Nefertiti is styled "The heiress, great of favour, lady of grace, charming in loving-kindness, mistress of South and North, the great wife of the king whom he loves, the Lady of the Two Lands [Nefertiti], living for ever and ever."

The background scenes (Plate vii.) are so similar to those in Plate v. that it only remains to notice the six flaming lamp-stands, each having two globular jars set by it on stands. Evidently this was an evening cup, and the lamps are for illumination, the jars of wine being set near them that the servants might see to replenish the cups. As we are still strangely ignorant of the illuminants used by the Egyptians, this feature is noteworthy. The supplementary scene below the framed picture has perished almost to the last traces.

4.—A Visit of Tyi to the Temple.

East Wall. Plates viii. to xii.

Previous copies are:—
Hay, MSS. 29814, fol. 42.
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 4 (published in Amélineau's *Sépulture*, pl. cii.).
Lepsius, *D.*, iii., 101, 102.

The purpose of this scene is given in an inscription in front of the King, reading—

"Conducting the great Queen and Queen-mother, Tyi, to let her see her Sun-shade (a temple or division of the temple)." [1]

It thus forms part of the chronicle of the visit of Tyi to Akhetaten, to which half the scenes of Huya's chapel is devoted. The picture divides into three parts:—1. The main scene (Plates ix., x., xi.); 2. the usual by-incidents (Plate xii.); 3. an irrelevant appendix (lowest register, Plate viii.). The distinctive treatment of the three parts here and elsewhere may help to fix the responsibility for the choice of subject in this and other tombs. For the interests of the King seem prominent in the main scene, Huya's

[1] Restored from L'Hôte. In both cases the —•— of Lepsius is a little doubtful. In a squeeze of L'Hôte (*Papiers*, xix.) the first rather resembles ⌇—▱, and he reads △—▱ and ⬭ respectively.

own in the secondary registers, while in the dado the artist has been allowed a free hand.

In Plate xii. the King and his mother are seen within the temple walls, proceeding towards a great gateway, the folding-doors of which are thrown open to receive them. Akhenaten is leading Tyi affectionately by the hand, and his little sister Beketaten follows with a gift for the altar on behalf of each. Two nurses watch over her, and there is the usual following of porters and attendants and of officials, military and civil. They are preceded by Huya and an unnamed official, who leads the way clad in Egyptian dress, but with a fillet round his bald head and a curiously-plaited bandage, like our modern putties, on one leg.[1]

The buildings of the temple to which the King and Queen are proceeding consist of a colonnaded court with a more intricate series of courts or chambers beyond it. Aten shines both upon the royal pair and on the building. In the latter case the titulary runs, "The living Aten, &c., in the Sun-shade (or 'Shade of Ra') of the Queen-mother and great Queen [Tyi], the living one." In the former case, and everywhere else in the tomb, the seat of the Aten is described simply as "Akhetaten," instead of "the temple of Aten in Akhetaten." If this is more than caprice, it implies that other shrines had now been erected in the capital and had deprived the great temple of its monopoly.

The discussion of the architectural plan of the temple in Plates x., xi. will be reserved for an appendix (p. 19).

The register below the main scene shows a continuation of the train of officials. The military escort consists exclusively of officers and standard-bearers, but they are marshalled by a trumpeter, who may have the same rank (v. p. 28). The three chariots from the royal stables are not forgotten by the artist.

Huya's privilege, as occupier of the tomb, of making himself prominent in the sub-scene, has been cleverly made use of. Apparently Tyi had come to settle in Akhetaten. A house had been provided for her, a shrine erected for her worship, and the *personnel* of her household chosen. Huya had probably little to do with the provision of the shrine, but much, those who know the East will readily believe, with the appointments to office in the house. It is this apparently that he depicts here. Dividing the servants into eight classes or castes, and regarding the appointments to each as a magnification of his own office, he leads his underlings in giving thanks and homage together in their various capacities, not unaware how much of the gratitude of the menials was paid to him personally. (So on the North wall we see Huya's appointment combined with his enrolment of workmen.)

Scarcely anything is left to us of five out of the eight classes shown, but apparently in each Huya was seen, leading with upraised arms the acclamations of the servants. Each picture is accompanied by an inscription of the form, "The appointment of the Superintendent of the royal harem, Huya . . . . . ." Over each group, or over many of them, is written the shout with which it acclaims the King or Queen, "The ruler of the Aten: he shall exist for ever and ever. He promotes from the youngest ranks!" "She who rises in beauty!" "To him on whom Aten has risen!" "Aten at (his) rising (?)!" "She who is the supporter of the temple of Aten in Akhetaten!"[2]

The inscription in front of the last group but one reads, "The appointment of the Superintendent of the royal harem, Huya, and of (or

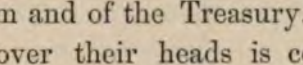
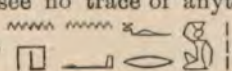
[1] It may be a decoration, therefore; not an article of apparel. I know of nothing Egyptian akin to it, and it savours of foreign (Cretan?) origin. We see Huya elsewhere in charge of such an official; suggesting that Huya, like Tyi, was a stranger to Akhetaten (cf. Plates v., xv.).

[2] Or perhaps not a cry, but a label, "The (guild of) porters of the temple," the guild supplying carriers both to Huya and to the temple.

'as') the bearer of the standard (?)[1] of the guild of saïses of 'Aten has risen on him.'" The inscription before the preceding group was probably similar, thus associating the standard-bearers of another guild with Huya in his good fortune. The men of the last group are identified by the inscription, "Appointment of the porters of Huya, Superintendent of the royal harem and of the Treasury."[2] If the inscription over their heads is correctly interpreted to mean "She who is the supporter of the temple," their cry is a play upon the word by the jovial porters, who pretend to include the great Queen as one of their profession.

The scene at the bottom of this wall has apparently only a decorative motive. Its condition makes any exact description impossible, but it evidently represents waterside scenes. On the left is the familiar papyrus thicket, inhabited by nesting birds, which are being disturbed by gatherers of reeds and by fowlers who have spread their net in the pools hard by. Further to the right what appears to be a river is seen, on the banks of which cattle are grazing; but probably it is not water but a wall of netting into which game is being driven by beaters. By the side of a pool or river, where the trees and bushes are thick, the camp of these hunters or herdsmen has been planted. A hut of wattle is set within a pale (?), and the pile of fruits (?) outside seems to indicate that the country affords sufficient sustenance. While the women are engaged about the camp, the men are busy capturing the fish with which the waters teem. Two canoes are afloat, and the fishers are using both the drag-net and the rod.

[1] Reading .

[2] Restoring  from a photograph by Petrie (*Racial Types*, xiv. 612) which was prior to the injury. It comprises this inscription and the two preceding groups, which are distinguished by him as Syrians and Ethiopians. I see no trace of anything foreign in them. L'Hôte reads  , and the photograph is not clear enough to give a final verdict.

5.—The Reception of the Foreign Tribute.

West wall. Plates xiii., xiv., xv., vii.

Hay, *MSS.* 29814, fol. 45, 46, 59.

L'Hôte, *Papiers*, xi. 7 (published in Amélineau, *Sépulture*, pl. ciii.); *Lettres Écrites*, p. 69.

Lepsius, *D.*, iii. 100*b*. (palanquin and bearers).

This scene is unique in the necropolis, as an illustration of an historical event which it also describes and dates. The inscription records:—

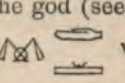
"Year 12, the second month of winter, the eighth day. Life to the Father, the double Ruler,[3] Ra-Aten, who gives life for ever and ever! The King of South and North Nefer-kheperu-ra and the Queen Nefertiti, living for ever and ever, made a public appearance on the great palanquin of gold to receive the tribute of Syria (Kharu) and Ethiopia (Kush), the West and the East (Syria and Ethiopia standing for the North and the South); all the countries collected at one time,[4] and the islands in the heart of the sea, bringing offerings to the King (when he was) on the great throne of Akhetaten for receiving the imposts of every land, granting to them the breath of life."

The movement in the picture is from the palace to the great daïs of reception. The pictures of the palace have already been commented on (Part I., p. 23), but a few points suggested by this new representation may be added here.

The lower section, near which a servant is sweeping, shows the façade of the palace, yet very arbitrarily.

1. The two doors under the *loggia* window are only put there for the sake of compactness. The *loggia* should stand on the raised terrace, and these doors, which are the doors to rooms on each side of the *loggia*, should be placed accordingly. The sloping ascents led up to these doors, but at right angles to the façade, not, as here, sideways.

[3] This is the literal meaning of the repeated sign of the seated King, but really two different determinatives should have been used to distinguish the divine from the regal attributes of the god (see Part II., pl. iv. *g*, and p. 15).

[4] Reading  with Lepsius.

2. The four columns to right and left of the *loggia* should in strictness not be seen, but instead the two doors in a blank wall. The four columns are *inside* the rooms,[1] but the artist, having taken over the common design of the *loggia*, which had the side doors and terrace set below it (cf. Pl. xvii.), had space left to show the interior of the side rooms.

3. Our artist, not being able to put the porch in front of the *loggia* without mingling of lines, nor at the side (as in II. 14) without confusion with the columns there (as in II. 41), yet determined to put it somewhere, has calmly placed it in front of the gate in the enclosing wall! In face of this audacity one may well cease to be dogmatic in the interpretation or reconcilement of these architectural plans.

4. The smaller rooms, instead of being ranged behind the great hall, are placed on both sides of it, the intervening corridor being duplicated in order to carry out the change.[2]

The sleepy eunuch, who is as much a feature of the house as its architecture, is to be seen in the corridor.[3]

As it was desirable to impress the foreign embassies with Egypt's wealth and dignity, the King and Queen are carried to the place of reception in the state palanquin of precious metal, borne on the shoulders of a dozen carriers. The royal pair sit side by side, not foregoing in public their habitual dalliance; for, though Akhenaten sits in the irksome stiffness of a statue, with fly-flap and crook (?), he permits Nefertiti to pass her arm round his waist.[4] Apparently this sign of intimate union, which Egyptian statuary affects, was considered to lend dignity to the husband. As this was a state procession and possibly a long one in the open-air, fan and shade-bearers are assiduous in their attentions. The elaborate palanquin has already been noticed.[5]

The princesses are walking behind the chair, followed by waiting-women and two nurses. Only the two elder are named: possibly two more were inconspicuously shown. This artist, unlike the rest, was a little contemptuous of the royal nursery, and probably might have added, had he thought worth while, one or two babies to the four children whom at most he acknowledges.

The officials, servants, and military who are shown by the side of the king's chair (Plate xv.) are very similar to those seen and noticed in the companion picture in the tomb of Meryra.[6] The troops are entirely of the same Bedawi (?) tribe, armed with the curved staff. A long file of these men is led by five of their officers (upper row on the left, Plate xv.). In front of them again are Huya and his fellow official, preceded by six soldiers. These belong to two

[1] I. xviii., added to the evidence of actual houses in the ruined city, is decisive.

[2] The reader will get a clearer idea of the building which was the original of these tantalizing plans by consulting the diagram on p. 30, and the plan and restoration in ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 177-180.

[3] Cf. L. *D.*, iii. 106 *a*; PETRIE, *T.A.*, pl. xi.

[4] See accompanying restoration.

[5] Part II., pl. xxxvii. and p. 42.

[6] Ibid.

corps, but it is impossible to give precise outline to the weapons which they carry.

An additional detachment of this and a kindred tribe (who wear a short tunic and carry an axe, as in II. xl.) are also ranged on the other side of the King (Plate xiv.) in the same position of trust; they are evidently mercenaries in the service of Egypt. A priest in the same headgear precedes the palanquin, burning incense,[1] and others of his countrymen go before and assist in the execution of a pantomimic dance (as in II. xxxviii.). This dance, which I have set down elsewhere to the hilarity of street-boys, seems regulated, and the performers are rather to be regarded as professional mummers. The three royal chariots are also in the procession, perhaps for show, perhaps for use on the return journey.

A still greater impression was likely to be made by the gifts which the tributary nations had brought or sent to the court of their suzerain, and which are being carried at the head of the procession under guard of one of the police. The tribute of the North is seen on one side, and comprises two chariots,[2] four sacks, and a number of the elaborate vases, filled probably with precious spices and unguents, which the goldsmiths of Syria were wont to execute, less for use than for purposes of display. Other vases with covers and handles decorated with heads of animals are set on stands for the King's inspection, together with some large open bowls of simpler form, but perhaps with valuable contents, which are enclosed in a supporting framework.[3]

The tribute of the South represents a very different type of civilization. It consists in the first place of negro slaves in fetters, dragged forward singly or in couples (the women and children following in the rear). Less barbarous gifts follow (Plate xv.); three yokes hung with skins and rings of gold; two set-pieces of metal-work representing typical south-country vegetation; tusks, chairs (of ebony, no doubt), spices, bags of gold-dust, monkeys, leopards and antelopes.

The Ethiopian slaves are balanced by a still greater number from Syria, drawn up in nine (?) bands of four to six each, to await the King's arrival. Each band is in charge of a military officer and a warder. As there is no mention or sign of any military operations, it is safest to conclude that they are slaves or hostages, representing or guaranteeing the prescribed tribute. The picture is far from showing a free bestowal or interchange of gifts; for there are no ambassadors prominent, and both gifts and slaves are brought forward by native Egyptians. Apparently then an expedition had been sent out to gather in the tribute, not perhaps without conflict in every case, and the officers are here presenting to the King the tale of each people's due, whether in gold or human booty. Most of the captives are males, and all are in handcuffs.[4] In the topmost of the nine rows a few Retnu women are seen, and some perhaps in the lowest rows also. The figures are far too rough to allow of any distinctive racial marks.

The royal procession is directed to a little group of buildings, the largest of which is an open pavilion, raised on a platform and approached by a flight of steps on each of its four sides. Twelve columns support its roof, four on each side; and low walls, topped by uraei, connect the three columns at each corner.[5]

[1] For a parallel to this design of the King's palanquin and the incense-bearer by Horemheb at Silsilis, see L. *D.*, iii. 121.

[2] It is characteristic of the unpractical East that the chariots should be borne on men's shoulders instead of being dragged.

[3] They are rudely cut or unfinished, besides being injured, so that it is hard to recover their shapes.

[4] For these handcuffs see WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, i., p. 338, and CAPART, *Recueil de Monuments*, i., 35, 36, 37.

[5] Its counterpart is seen in I. xxxi., and perhaps in II. xxxvii.

Opposite the pavilion is a smaller platform with one approach, on which a walled shrine is built, containing an altar-table, heaped with offerings.[1] Between the two platforms are two small altars on the model of the great altar in the temple-court. To right and left are magazines for the service of these altars, and the depiction of sacrificial victims shows that a religious ceremony of some magnitude was contemplated. It has been suggested in Part II., p. 6, that these buildings are to be identified with the mounds which Professor Petrie found at the head of the great avenue leading to the tombs.[2] Lying a little way out of the town in the level waste, this would make an effective site for a great public ceremonial.

We have already seen Huya among the courtiers, but he was not satisfied with this casual appearance. He claimed a space also where he might be shown receiving the congratulations of his household and of his harem on his return with new honours from the ceremony.[3] That he had received such, or that he had had any part in securing the tribute, is by no means certain.[4]

There still remain fragments of a decorative scene below this, depicting the labour of the fields (Plate vii.). On the extreme left a peasant's booth or vine-trellis is seen beside a tree on which a large bird is perched. A woman is going out to labour in the fields, where a man is already ploughing with a yoke of oxen. Further on are goats, and, after a long gap, a vessel with a triangular (?) sail, and perhaps a house on the bank beyond.

6.—Huya's Appointment to Office.

North Wall. West side. Plate xvi.

A previous copy is:—
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 276. (Rough sketch.)

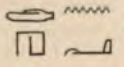
[1] As in Plate xi. (extreme left).
[2] Petrie, *T. A.*, Plate xlii.
[3] Only slight fragments remain of the familiar groups (lowest row of Plate xv.).
[4] See page 19.

The North wall is occupied by two scenes, the upper parts of which are almost identical and represent the bestowal of favours on Huya by the King. The written statement is very meagre and the pictorial record much mutilated; but we gather from the latter that the two rewards were in respect of different offices. In Plate xvi. it is manifestly Huya's position as Superintendent of the Treasury of Queen Tyi[5] to which attention is called.

The upper part of the scene in both pictures resembles closely those already interpreted in detail.[6] Akhenaten and Nefertiti are leaning from the decorated *loggia* of the palace[7] to present the collars of gold or otherwise honour the favourite, and the two younger princesses, attended by their nurses, regard the scene from behind.

Huya stands below in act of salutation, while a servant affixes to his dress one of the new rewards or insignia of office (a sash?). The royal gifts seem more scanty than usual, only a bracelet being clearly shown, though an unopened coffer is seen below. Possibly, as the appointment was to the Queen-mother's household, the King was only indicating his approval and having it registered. The scene is explained by the note, "Huya is appointed[8] Superintendent of the royal harem, Superintendent of the Treasury and Steward in the house of the Queen-mother." Huya's grateful eulogy is in the prescribed form:—

"Praises to thy *ka*, O Ua-en-ra, the good ruler who

[5] The three offices, and not the last only, must be taken to refer to Tyi's household. So we have seen Meryra II. holding the same offices in the establishment of Nefertiti about this time.
[6] Part I., Plate vi. and pp. 20-22; Part II., Plates x., xxxiii., and pp. 16, 36, 44.
[7] It will be noticed that the stairs to the doors on the platform turn inwards, but outwards in Plate xvii. This is good proof that in fact they were at right angles to the façade.
[8] Emend to  .

makes princes, the great Nile-god of the whole land, the *ka* (or perhaps 'sustenance') of all mankind.[1] Thou raisest from the youngest ranks (lit. 'from the recruits, from the recruits'). So long as Aten dawns thou shalt be to everlasting,[2] the . . . . . everlasting."

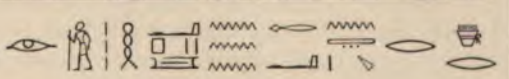
In the scene below Huya stands in a court surrounded on three sides by store chambers, superintending the weighing out and registration of valuables (a gold collar, several ewers and basins, &c.). It would be in accordance with II. xxxvi. (perhaps an echo of these scenes), if there were depicted here Huya's retirement to his own house to congratulate himself and receive congratulations on his good fortune. But the adjacent wall suggests that this is not so, but that we see Huya in the treasury where his duties centred, and in the exercise of that triple office which gave him the supreme place in the Queen's household. The building (really four square with six chambers on each side ?) is evidently built closely on the model of the temple treasury shown in I. xxxi. As there, so here a continuous portico runs all round the court, with a column opposite each partition wall; and in the middle of one side is seen the entrance door shaded by a porch outside. There is every probability, therefore, that the building was in Akhetaten.

The contents of the side-chambers are shown, but the state of the walls only enables us to see that they are very varied, and somewhat resemble those in I. xxxi. It will be noticed that one arm of the balance is longer than the other. This, of course, is admissible even with a fixed beam, but the principle may be that of the shifting steelyard.

7. Huya's Duties and Rewards.

North Wall. East side. Plate xvii.

Previous copies are:—
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 276 reverse. (Rough sketch.)
Lepsius, *D.*, iii. 100 a.

[1] Reading,  .

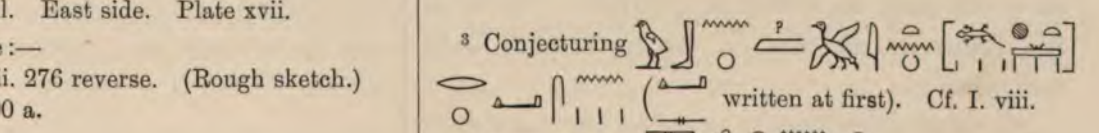
[2] For the text see I. viii.

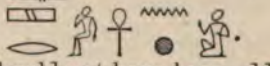
The framework of this scene is almost the exact counterpart of the last. The Queen is certainly Nefertiti, though her name is erased; the two princesses here are the eldest of the four. The elaborate decoration of the balcony, which is destroyed on the neighbouring wall, is here well preserved, and consists of concentric semicircles of various colours with three open lotus flowers at the centre, differing therefore in detail from I. vii. and totally from II. xxxiv.

As the epithet "favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands" is here added to the titles of Huya, and numerous tokens of favour are manifest, it appears that he grew in the king's good graces. This title was probably purely honorary. Huya's neck here is laden with golden collars, and both arms covered to the elbow with armbands, four or five on each. His blessing is couched in different phrases this time:—

"The good ruler, mighty in establishing, shining as (?) the Aten, [abounding in wealth] and knowing how to bestow it,[3] the Aten pleaseth his heart!—the Pharaoh (life, prosperity, and health!), the son whom it is my life to see."[4]

Below the main scene are Huya's chariot[5] and servants, and below these again are a series of groups depicting the various crafts of Akhetaten in full operation. Unfortunately they are nearly obliterated. Amongst them, however, and in excellent preservation except for wilful mutilations in recent times, is a tiny picture which forms one of the finest pieces of work in the necropolis (Plate xviii.).[6] It is so prominent in this respect that it is revealed at once as a work of love. The sculptor, seizing the opportunity which the subject presented, has

[3] Conjecturing  written at first). Cf. I. viii.

[4] Emending to  .

[5] The plumes should not have been added.

[6] Cf. L. *D.*, iii. 100 a; but the artist, Georgi, was most unhappy in his drawing of the statue.

inserted a picture of a studio familiar to him; for there is little room for doubt that the artist, if not Auta himself, was one of his pupils. And a very human touch betrays, I think, the master himself. While no pupil would have refrained from attaching his name to one of the sculptors in the studio, no one but the man himself would have written his name twice over. In the second recurrence of the name we have perhaps actually the artist's signature of his work. With all an Egyptian's subordination of fact to idea, he has chosen to put a head twice too large on Auta's shoulders rather than cramp his portraiture. Choosing a place where the stone was of good quality, he has worked with delicate touches, giving special evidence of his interest in the picture by the care which he has spent on the sculptor's tools.

The workshop is a room with two (?) columns supporting the ceiling and having a little inner sanctum partitioned off for the master's use. Here is "the overseer of sculptors (lit. 'vivifiers') of the great royal wife Tyi, Auta." He sits on a low stool, palette in hand, busily engaged in giving the last touches in paint to a statue of Beketaten, the daughter of his royal patroness. She is represented as a young girl, and the pomegranate (?) which she holds in her hand may be meant as a symbol of nubility. It is interesting to see that the artist, though a sculptor himself, depicts, not the actual statue, but the idea in the artist's mind of the graceful body of a girl lightly robed. Obviously the figure could not be at once nude and attired in spreading robes; and there is little doubt that in fact the statue was treated as usual, the robe being gathered tightly round the body, so as to show the form as much as possible. Small as the figure is, dimples on the neck have been indicated.

An apprentice stands close to the master in an attitude of closest attention. Another figure once stood behind Auta. Further away two other young sculptors are engaged in modest tasks; for the artist's range was then less specialized. One is shaping a chair-leg with a light adze; the other is further advanced and is engaged upon a head.[1] A coarse and a fine chisel lie on the block in front of him, and in its side is a carefully shaped groove, apparently meant to hold a chisel and keep its delicate edge from injury. With these groups the sculpture of the scenes seems to have been left to less skilful hands, for the work becomes so rough that the action of the figures cannot be determined. One pupil seems engaged upon a wooden box, another upon stone vases, so that there is no evidence in what material the statue would be wrought.

The effigy of Beketaten in Auta's studio suggests that this wall also shows Huya in the service of the Queen-mother. This is confirmed when we see him outside the studio, proceeding on a work of inspection along with "the . . . . of the great royal wife [Tyi ?] and scribe of the house of recreation (?), Nekhtau," and another official. The notice which would have taught us the significance of the scene is unfortunately much damaged. It appears to run "appointment of the workmen (?) of (by ?) the favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Superintendent, &c., of the great royal wife Tyi, Huya."

The fragments which have survived show us various workshops, where carpenters, jewellers (?), vase-decorators, metal-workers and others are busy, and their finished productions set out. Ewers and basins, necklaces, pottery, chests and a palm-leaf column are clear and there seems to be a metal statuette, but I may have been quite mistaken.

It is certain that the court of Akhetaten was a home and fostering ground of the arts, and it would not be at all surprising if Queen Tyi also was one of their most ardent patrons, and that

[1] Possibly a trial piece only, but such heads were sometimes included in the burial equipment. Or it is one of those stone heads worked in the flat for inlay, numbers of which were found in the palace ruins.

we see here the craftsmen connected with her establishment at Akhetaten whom her steward directed and encouraged. But if what we see here is the initial organization of her residence in the city, her direct influence must have been limited to the last years of the reign. It is a sign of the perfect harmony between the Dowager-Queen and her son that it is Akhenaten and Nefertiti who reward Huya for his fidelity in the service of Tyi.

8. Akhenaten's Link with the Past.

North Wall—The Portal. Plates xviii., xxi., xxvii.

Two fragments from squeezes of the right jamb are shown in L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 141.

Each jamb of the doorway leading to the inner rooms is covered with four columns of inscription and a figure and prayer of Huya at the foot. (Plate xxvii. For the translation see p. 19.) The lintel is occupied by two royal groups instead of the usual formal device (cf. II. v). The whole is much defaced by incrustations; and as the jambs seemed to repeat the familiar salutation of the three worshipful powers, the Aten, the King, and the Queen, I was much inclined, like my predecessors, to give them no further attention. But closer examination of the dirty and mutilated cartouches showed that, though the expected formula was found on the left hand, the powers saluted on the right were Akhenaten, his father Amenhetep III., and his mother Tyi. The formula reads:—

"(Long) live the father—god and king[1]—the living Ra, ruler of the two horizons, rejoicing on the horizon in the name of the Brilliance which comes from the Aten, who giveth life for ever and ever, the King of South and North, &c., Nefer-kheperu-ra—Ua-en-ra, who gives life [replaced in the second and fourth columns by the personal designation of the King]; the King of South and North, lord of the Two Lands, Neb-maat-ra;[2] and the great Queen and Queen-mother, Tyi, who lives for ever and ever."

The illustration to this text is furnished by the lintel. The picture there is divided into two halves, that on the left showing the household of Akhenaten; that on the right the household of his predecessor, Amenhetep III.

In the former scene Akhenaten and Nefertiti, wearing the royal insignia, sit side by side on a couch. The King puts his arm caressingly round the shoulders of the Queen, while she rests her arm upon his knee and turns her face with vivacious gesture up to his. By the action of her hand she seems to include in her affections her four daughters, who are waving fans in front of the couch. The counter-picture shows Amenhetep III. in the close-fitting *nems* cap, sitting in a chair, as if in the act of addressing his wife, who occupies a chair facing him, with the princess Beketaten at her knee. To both King and Queen the Aten offers the symbol of life impartially. Three female attendants are added to balance the figures of the four princesses. Tyi is styled in one of those panegyrics passed on Queens into which a touch of chivalry enters[3]:—

"The hereditary princess, great of favour, lady of grace, charming in loving-kindness, filling the palace with her beauty, Mistress of South and North, the great wife of the King, whom he loves, the Lady of the Two Lands, Tyi."

The description of Beketaten, "the King's daughter of his body, beloved by him," is for the first time made fitting by the presence of her royal father.

The separation of the Queen and her daughter from the King, their uplifted hands, which seem

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[1] Cf. Part I., p. 8; Part II., p. 15.

[2] It must be noticed that as the King became more and more sensitive to any mention of the discarded deities, the figures of the goddesses Maat and Mut were abandoned even in spelling, and hence the prenomen of Amenhetep is given in an unusual form, while his personal name could not be cited at all. Cf. Petrie, *T. A.*, pl. xxii. 7 (written with the *maat* feather in No. 4); *Le culte d'Atonou*, I. pl. xv. (not so in pl xxxvii.).

[3] Cf. the almost identical laudation of Nefertiti on p. 7, and Part II., p. 14.

to imply an unusual measure of reverence, and the occurrence of the name of the son with and preceding those of his parents on the jamb, are the only features which favour the idea that the King thus pourtrayed was a dead monarch upon whose throne his son had sat for a decade. But for this and the difficulty of reconciling the situation with other records, this unique equipoise of the two royal households would have suggested a co-regency of the two Kings even at this late date in Akhenaten's reign.

The picture at least intensifies known or suspected facts of history. It shows strongly in what full sympathy the conforming King and his nonconforming son were: a sympathy which, while it admitted differences, must have been based on an essential unity of thought and policy. This agreement had in all probability taken practical shape in a co-regency, of which these juxtaposed pictures may be the echo. It illustrates besides the great influence over both father and son which history has been disposed to allow to Tyi. Amenhetep was dead; but so long as his capable Queen survived his reign could scarcely be said to be ended, and it may only be in a technical sense that we have to deny a co-regency at this period after all. Finally the picture removes the last excuse for doubting that Beketaten was the youngest child of Amenhetep III. and Tyi, or numbering her among the daughters of Nefertiti. Her name indicates the unabashed adherence of Tyi at least to the new faith.

But neither these considerations nor Huya's own attachment to both households, which he desired equally to honour and to gratify, are a sufficient explanation of the formal conjunction of names on the jambs. We must regard it as a solemn denial by the King that in removing the capital of Egypt and making changes in its religion he had broken with the past, or separated himself from the line of Kings whose continuity in his father Amenhetep III. was not contested. Through that King he claimed to be in vital unity, political, religious, and dynastic, with the long line of the sons of Ra who had occupied his earthly throne.

9. The Funeral Rites.

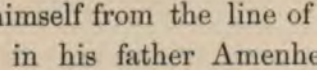
Shrine. E. Wall. Plate xxii.

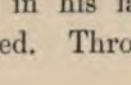
From this scene, so common in Egyptian tombs, though unique in this necropolis, we may gather that the new faith had effected no change either in eschatological ideas or in burial customs; and it was no doubt this orthodoxy in the matters with which the people really concerned themselves that made them comparatively indifferent to the onslaught on their pantheon.

Here the last rites are being duly paid to the embalmed body of Huya, before its committal to the burial chamber at the bottom of the deep shaft. The mummy, swathed in wrappings, crowned with the festal cap, and furnished as an Osiris with the beard of a god, is placed erect to receive the last caresses of friends, and submit to the ceremonial of the priests. Behind the mummy four women make demonstrations of grief. One is "(his) wife (or 'the mother of his wife') Tuy, *maatkheru*[1] (?)": the other is probably the sister seen on the opposite wall (Plate xxiii.), but her name is even more illegible here than there. In front of the dead man is an immense pile of varied offerings and a slain ox or two, over which the officiating priest pours a libation from a *hes*-vase, while he recites the following prayer:—

"May there be made for thee a *dy hetep seten* of thy bread and the beer of thy house; may there be poured out for thee water from thy cistern; may there be brought to thee [fruit] from thy trees; may a recitation be made for thee from (?) the written lore (?)[2] of Aten; may food be deposited for thee on the altar for thy *ka* [every day(?)]; may thy name be remembered,[3]

[1] Cf. p. 4 above and Plate xxi.

[2] Emending to  .

[3] Emending to  .

Superintendent of the royal harem and of the Treasuries, Huya, *maakheru!*"

The power of the dead hand laying its claim to every product of the family property is made vivid in these details; and there is much real pathos in this attachment to the earthly life, extending to a partiality for the familiar home-made bread and home-brewed beer, and the discrimination between one water supply and another.

Behind the priest numerous male mourners make the motion of pouring dust on their heads in token of sorrow. Several wear the shoulder-sash of the professional (?) mourner.[1] In the registers below, sacrificial oxen are being driven forward and the crowds gather in wailing groups. The inscriptions cannot be deciphered connectedly: "loud cries from the husbandmen," however, seems to occur.

10. The Funeral Procession.

Shrine. West Wall. Plate xxiii.

On this wall we see the funeral procession making its way to the place of burial, and carrying with it the funeral furniture and offerings. There are two tables set out with loaves and sealed jars, and eight caskets such as might hold the embalmed viscera or the *ushabti*. These are carried suspended from the ends of yokes. Stems of papyrus (shown in realistic detail in Plate xxii.) are provided plentifully, and a frond of palm is seen set between two piled-up baskets in the lowest register. Mourners, both male and female, follow the porters in large numbers, and in token of grief carry one or both hands to the head, or cover the face with both palms. Some of the relations have had names attached to them, but we can now only see that one was "his sister Kherpu . . ." (?)

[1] Compare the sash of the mourning women in the Royal Tomb (*Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. vii., ix.).

11. The Burial Furniture.

Shrine. Back Wall. Plate xxiv.

The objects which it was felt desirable to bury in the chamber with the dead are exhibited on the wall spaces on each side of the sitting statue of Huya. On the left hand is a chariot fully equipped with the traces attached to the pole, a stool, four coffers, two "canopic" jars, &c. On the right is a couch with a footstool (?) and toilet vases below it; two chairs also with footstools, staffs, sandals; two shrines on sleds, joint-stools, and other objects too much defaced for recognition. The double provision seems designed for both Huya and his wife.

The whole equipment reveals a high standard of comfort and even of luxury, and the inclusion of a chariot among the chattels which Huya considered necessary to his well-being is in itself sufficient to stamp him as one of the highest officials of his time.

C.—The Religious Texts.

1. The Longer Prayers.

1. (Outer wall-thickness. E. side. Plate ii.)[2]

"An adoration of Ra-Aten, who gives life for ever [and ever. Homage to thee], dawning in the sky and shining in the morning on the horizon of heaven [coming in peace, the Lord of Peace]. The [entire] land assembles at thy rising, their hands [give praise] at thy dawning; they prostrate themselves on the ground (when) thou shinest on them. [They shout to the height of heaven; they receive] joy and gladness; they rejoice when they see thy Majesty. Thou sendest thy rays on all men. They [go forth (?) when thou reachest] heaven, when thou hast taken the goodly road.

"Thou settest me for ever in a place of favour, in my mansion of bliss. My spirit goes forth [to see] thy rays, to feed on its offerings. I am called by my name; and

[2] The additions to the plate are from L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 277. A duplicate text will be given in IV. iii., and from this the connections in brackets are supplied. For the opening sentences see also II. vii.

one cometh at the summons.[1] I enjoy the things which are offered. [I consume *shens* and *bat* and *pesen* bread and *des*-beer], hot roast meat and cold water, wine and milk (?),[2] everything that is offered [in the sanctuary of the Aten in Akhetaten.]

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Superintendent of the harem and of the Treasury and Steward in the house of the great royal [wife Tyi, Huya, *maakheru*].

2. (W. side. Plate iii.)

For a fuller text and translation of this prayer see Pl. xxix. and p. 31.

3. (Thickness of Inner Wall. E. side. Plate xxxvii.)

A duplicate text in a better condition will be found in Part IV., Plate iv., and the translation is therefore reserved for that volume.

4. (W. side. Plate xxxvii.)

For a duplicate text and translation of this prayer see Pl. xxviii. and p. 31. The close of it gives the titles as in No. 1 above, ending "Huya, *maakheru em amakh*."

5. (Thickness of Shrine wall. E. side. Plate xx.)

"A reception[3] of offerings of the King's giving, bread, beer, and provisions at every shrine of thine, that thy [name] may thrive[4] in thy tomb-chapel: may each generation that is to come call thee and all living . . . . . May thy name not be to seek for thee (?) in thy mansion. [May there be made] for thee a *dy hetep seten* of . . . . . bread . . . . and beer of thy house. For the *ka* of the favourite of Ua-en-ra, beloved by his Lord, the Superintendent, etc., Huya, *maakheru*."

6. (West side. Plate xx.)

" . . . . . the steward of the great royal wife [Tyi, Huya] . . . . . the Nile . . . . . more than the sands of the dunes . . . . . he dawns in millions . . . . . Thou shalt be to eternity after victory (?).[5]

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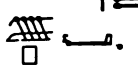
[1] Reading .

[2] The determinative suggests that there is an error here and in IV. iii. for "milk."

[3] Supplying  .

[4] Restoring .

[5] Emending to .

2. The Shorter Prayers.

Shrine Door. Pl. xix.

1. (Left outer jamb.)

"[Praise to thy *ka*, Nefer-kheperu-ra—Ua-en-ra, who givest life], the good ruler, who makes princes and fills the two lands with his beauty. Countless numbers of gifts are offered to thy *ka*, provisions and food at every place; my lord who fostered me, ... For the *ka* of the Superintendent, etc., Huya.

2. (Right outer jamb.)

"Praise to thy *ka*, O Lady of the Two Lands, who makes the two lands bright with her beauty, the Queen-mother and great Queen Tyi, mistress of provisions, abundant in fat things. May they abound for the *ka* . . . . . in a happy life, as provided with pleasure and delight (?) every day (?) . . . . . For the *ka* of the Superintendent . . . . . "

3. (Left inner jamb.)

(*a*) "Praise to thy *Ka*, O N.! who art worshipped every day, the sun who rises like Aten, filling the two lands with his beauty; my lord . . . . . [seeing?] thy beauty and attending thee every day. For the *ka* of the Superintendent of the royal harem of the great Queen, Huya, *maakheru*."

(*b*) "Praise to thy *ka*, O N.! Thy *ka* comes in peace, O Nile-god . . . . . for ever and ever, while I attend thee in the Court of Festival. For the *ka* of the Superintendent of the treasuries of the great Queen, Huya, *maakheru*."

4. (Right inner jamb.)

(*a*) "Praise (to) thy *ka*, O N., my lord [who givest (?)] to me favour. O 'Loved like Aten!' O 'Prospering . . . . . without ceasing . . . . . "

(*b*) "Praise to thy *ka*, O N., the Light whom it is [life] to see, the *ka* of the whole land . . . . . to thee for ever."

5. (Upper lintel.)

(*a*) "Praise to thy *ka*, O living Aten, lord of eternity; the lord of Fortune, who causes Plenty and makes the two lands bright by his beauty!"

(*b*) "Praise to thy *ka*, O Disc, ruler of the two horizons! Thou risest and art radiant, lovely, and gleaming for ever and ever."

6. (Lower lintel.)[6]

(*a*) "A *dy hetep seten*, O Ua-en-ra, the good ruler who makes princes and fills the two lands with his *ka*, the King of South and North, Nefer-kheperu-ra—Ua-en-ra!

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[6] Copied also in L. *D. Text*, II., p. 141.

"A *dy hetep seten*, O 'He who is great in duration'! I give praise to thy fair face. I propitiate thy *ka* every day, the good ruler, Akhenaten, great in his duration."

7. (Inner Door. Foot of right jamb. Plate xxvii.)

"Praise to thy *ka*, O Ua-en-ra! Thou risest living . . . . . the ruler of the entire land. Grant life, prosperity, health and a happy existence . . . . . thy son (?) . . . . . .

"For the *ka* of the favourite of Ua-en-ra (?), the Superintendent of . . . . . of the Queen-mother and great Queen Tyi, Huya."

The corresponding prayer on the left jamb is illegible.

D. Huya.

The titles given to Huya in his tomb are—

(1) Superintendent of the Royal Harem.

(2) Superintendent of the Treasury.

(3) Superintendent of the house (Steward).

the three offices being held in the house of Queen Tyi. To these are added the complimentary epithets, "Favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands," and "Following the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands." The activity of Huya was thus confined entirely, so far as we know, to the service of the Queen-mother. Beyond these pictorial records of his relations to both royal households, we know nothing of him whatever.

It is true that he has been recognized [1] in the Khu'a who is mentioned in a letter of Burnaburias, King of Kardunias, to Akhenaten, as "Khu'a, my messenger." [2] But it seems impossible to admit this. Professor Steindorff is so far from thinking of it, that he would regard it as possible that the name Huya may be represented by Haai, the name of an Egyptian ambassador who is mentioned in the same dispatch as well as in several others.[3] The difficulties are not only linguistic; for Khu'a is manifestly the messenger of the Babylonian, not of the Egyptian King, whose envoys are Khamashshi and Haai (Khay?). Nor is Huya a very probable messenger of the King's. He seems to have been always in the Queen's, not the King's service. The appearance of the picture in Huya's tomb counts for little, for Meryra II. records what is almost certainly the same event. Indeed, we may be fairly certain that Huya would have made himself much more prominent in the scene had he been able to do so with any truth. Unfortunately our record is broken in this part of the picture. Even if the name Khu'a could be a transcription of the Egyptian name Huya, the identification with the steward of Queen Tyi would still fall far short of certainty.

The tomb of Huya is the only completely finished one in the necropolis, North or South, and as the burial chamber is provided and the burial scenes pictured, it may be considered probable that on his death his body found its hoped-for resting-place there.

Appendix A.—The "Sun-shade" of Tyi.

(Plate viii.)

It has been pointed out that, beside the full pictures of the temple of the Aten, there are several representations of its Lesser Sanctuary only.[4] The question arises whether the depiction

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[1] Budge, *History of Egypt*, iv., pp. 128, 129; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 327.

[2] Tell el Amarna Letters, No. 9 (Berlin, No. 6). See Winckler, *Tell el Amarna Letters*, p. 19.

[3] *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i., p. 331. Dr. Geo. A. Reisner is also strongly opposed to the identification.

[The conventional transcription of the name as "Huya" has little to do with the pronunciation. We know only the skeleton vocables of the name, Ḥ + I. Khu'a (Ḥu'a) does not fit this at all. Khaai (Ḥaai) is a better rendering; but, as Professor Steindorff observes, this is more likely to represent the Egyptian name which on our system is written Khay. (Editor)].

[4] Part II., p. 20. Such representations are now available to the reader in Plate xxx., and in *Le Culte d'Atonou*, I., plate i., and p. 18. In the tomb of Pentu (IV. v., vi., vii.) the picture of the Shrine is too much broken to be of material help, and the whole scene is negligeable.

of the "Sun-shade" of Queen Tyi is in fact a part or the whole of this same sanctuary, or a different building altogether.

A comparison of Plate viii. with Plate xxx. shows at a glance that the choice lies between accepting this "Sun-shade" as a separate temple and admitting considerable structural alterations in the old building. As we have in the more familiar building the same general model as in the picture in this tomb; as it is itself a secondary temple devoted to the same end (the cult of royal statues); as we know that the "Sun-shade" of Merytaten was a division of the great temple; as therefore structural or functional alterations seem to have taken place in the latter, it seems advisable that we should consider what changes would be necessary in the Lesser Sanctuary to make the picture in Plate xxx. intelligible. For if no violence is done to either picture in the attempt to reconcile them, the result of the study will be almost equally instructive, whether this building prove a reconstruction of the Lesser Sanctuary, or a different erection of the same type.

The abbreviated pictures show three gateways, with three spaces within them.[1] These correspond to

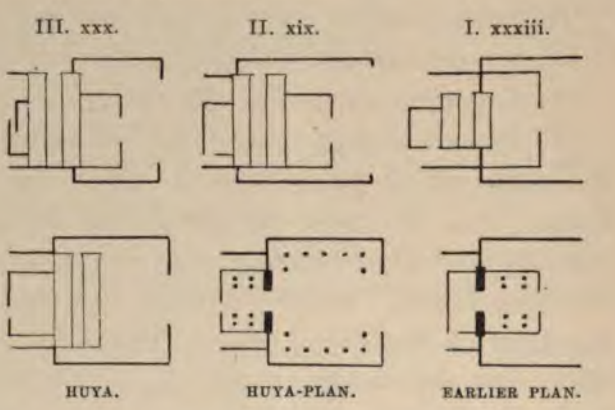
(1) THE ENTRANCE GATEWAY, admitting to THE OUTER COURT (the whole of the Great Sanctuary being omitted).

(2) THE GATEWAY IN THE DIVIDING WALL, which admits to the INNER COURT.

(3) THE COLONNADED GATEWAY, through which the LESSER SANCTUARY is entered.

1. THE OUTER COURT.—The Great Sanctuary which occupied this court is omitted as irrelevant, and the space occupied by the royal party. In Plate xxx., where the visitors have not yet reached the gates, tables of offering, cupboards, and a small shrine fill the space, so far as can be seen.

2. THE INNER COURT (Plate x.).—This space, and still more the building behind, as shown by Huya, differs so much from the standard picture, that I have suggested (Part II., p. 24) that it may be a reconstruction of a colonnaded court of the Greater Sanctuary. But I now see that it might without great difficulty fall into place here. The identity of the site will be made clearer if we merely take the main lines of the representations:—



The change was, in fact, simply an elaboration. There had always been an enclosed court with a colonnade along two sides, sheltering statues of the King and his daughter (wife?). But it was small, and was itself set within a forecourt formed by wings thrown out from the frontage. We may suppose that, when the new faith was thought strong enough to claim the royal house of the past generation also as its adherents, this portico was too small to hold the statues which it was proposed to place there. The small court was pulled down and the columns removed to the inner side of the gate to form a similar portico there, and a single colonnade was run all round the four sides of the forecourt, save for a broad passage in the axis of the temple. Between each pair of columns the statue of a King and of a Queen was set.

The names inscribed beside these statues are

[1] The second gateway is omitted and the two courts joined into one in the Royal Tomb. The diagram on p. 20 of Part II. should be consulted, though the identification of the "Sun-shade" there is doubtful.

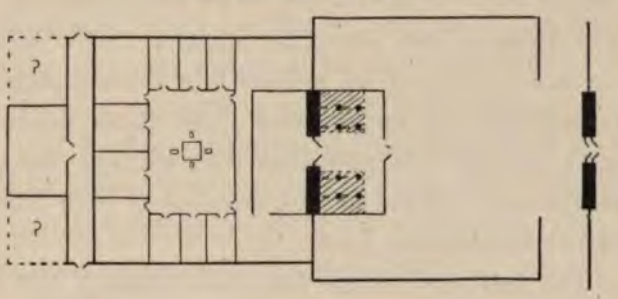
now only partially preserved[1]; but from the remains it seems certain that the statues of Amenhetep III. alternated with those of his son, and that all the female statues are representations of Queen Tyi, associated with her husband and her son alternately. She is styled in the first case, "the great wife of the King, beloved of him, [Tyi,] living for ever"; in the second, the epithet "mother of the King" is added. While Akhenaten is given his two names with full titulary, prejudice against the name of Amen prevented this in the case of his father, who is simply named, "King of the South and North and Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-maat-ra." The two Kings are distinguished also by their dress; for while the son wears the *khepersh* helmet as usual, the father wears the close-fitting headdress ending in a queue, which his son rarely dons.[2] The Queen is crowned with the two feathers, as is her almost invariable wont, and a long red sash confines her robe at the waist. A white under-garment with short sleeves and reaching to the knee is indicated under the robe.[3] The statues are left with an upright stone support behind them, as is customary with standing figures. The King and Queen appear on a single base, but probably they are separate statues standing side by side. In the centre of the court a less ornate copy of the high altar in the Greater Sanctuary was set, replacing the tables which were in the enclosure previously; but the other paraphernalia of sacrifice are still to be seen there.[4]

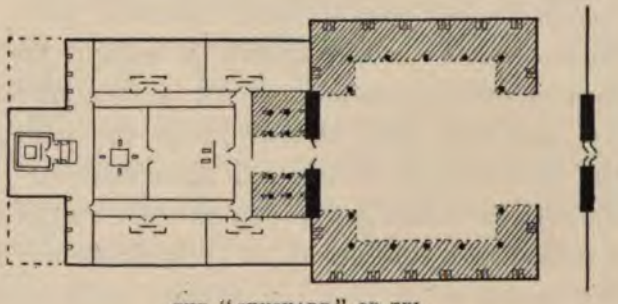
(3) The Sanctuary (Plate xi.). It must be admitted that this picture presents little *prima facie* resemblance to earlier representations of the Lesser Sanctuary (e.g. I. xxxiii.). Yet the needed transformation, if extensive, is not at all radical.

The original plan was that of a central court, out of which rooms opened on three sides. Beyond this lay another building, accessible only from outside the sanctuary through an intervening corridor.

In Huya's building (assuming the identity of the two) this outer edifice has been thrown

THE LESSER SANCTUARY.





THE "SUNSHADE" OF TYI.

into the main sanctuary by making through-corridors on each side of the central court. Then the partition walls between the small rooms were thrown down so as to convert the four rooms on each side into two, and the two back rooms into one.

Another change was the transference of the

[1] The greater number were in paint only, and many of the cartouches seem to have been left blank. (For the clearest, see Plate xxv., graffito 2.) The hieroglyphs in the oblong placards, small as they were, were all incised and then filled in with green paste. The supposition of Lepsius that the king, a princess, and the deceased occupied the third space at the foot of this plate was due to his being misled by the scribal error for (L. *D. Text*, II., p. 140).

[2] He wears it, however, in the statue in the Louvre; so no independent evidence is afforded by this.

[3] For a tracing of one of the groups on a larger scale, see Plate xxv. G. The details of the figures and of the columns are generally in red paint only.

[4] The parapet of the stairway to the altar seems to be formed of black and red stone alternating with white.

enclosed porticoes from the outside to the inside of the gateway. Something akin to this enclosure had always existed there (cf. Part II., pp. 25, 26), and the alteration caused very little disturbance to the plan. The statues, however, which Huya shows under the new portico are not the same as those that stood in the old. They are different in form, being figures which hold altars between their extended arms for the reception of gifts.[1] Besides, they are no longer statues of Akhenaten and Merytaten (Nefertiti?). A King with the crown of uraei and plumes alternates with one wearing the *khepersh* helmet, and it is not far to the conclusion that the groups are those of Amenhetep with Tyi and Akhenaten with Tyi, as in the new colonnade outside. The two-plumed head-dress which the Queen wears is also much more characteristic of Tyi than of her daughter-in-law.[2] The other statues which will be met with in this sanctuary do not differ in appearance from those already seen, so that it is probable that all the female statues are effigies of Tyi, associated with those of her husband and son.

The furniture of the four side rooms needs no comment, but the towered gateway with a curious annexe, which admits to each of them, demands interpretation. Such a construction we have met with already inside the gate of the sanctuary (I. xxxiii. and plans above). It should represent a gateway in an outer wall, with a walled enclosure before (or perhaps behind) it. We cannot allow that the outside walls of the sanctuary were pierced to give access to unimportant rooms. The entrance to them must have been from the corridor, and as there was no space there for a forecourt, the drawing implies a vestibule within the room. We thus learn that it was customary, for reasons of privacy, to screen off the doorway of a room, so that no one entering would command a view of the interior. That secrecy rather than safety is aimed at is plain from the piercing of this covering wall by three doors, in front, to right, and to left. It is obvious that the doorway in front would almost nullify the use of the screen. But it will be noticed that between the opposed doorways is set a pillar-like erection, which is plainly to be interpreted as a screening partition within the vestibule, topped by warning uraei.[3] The size of the gateways to these four rooms is probably only due to the caprice of the artist, who is fond of elaborating them.[4]

The main interest in this, as in all Egyptian temples, lay in the axis of the building. Here, at the back of the old building, we find a shrine, as we should expect; but, owing to the incorporation of the annexe behind, it is not the final one. That lay immediately behind the first, but could not be reached directly from it.

The first shrine is gained through a central court, where a pair of royal statues stand, backed against a screen. Within the shrine is a table of offerings, flanked by an altar statue of a King on one side, and a Queen on the other. An injury to the sculpture prevents further identification.[5] This door also appears to be screened.

[1] We know the exact form of such statues from the rock-stelae, which are nearly always furnished with a pair of them (King and Queen) on either side.

[2] Nefertiti wears plumes in I. xxvii. and on the rock-stelae: Tyi is rarely in any other head-dress.

[3] Cf. Plate xxxiii. and Part II., Pls. xix., xxxvi., pp. 24, 38, for screening walls, similarly shown by section. But a parallel absolutely exact is furnished by the house in PETRIE, *T. A.*, pl. xl. (cf. also No. 17, pl. xlii.).

[4] Yet II. xix. has a hint of something peculiar in the gates here.

[5] In Pl. xxx. we see a similar table in the court, mounted on a low platform and flanked by two pairs of statues. These may well be the same, there being one statue on each of the four sides. In Pl. xxx. the arms are outstretched; they probably therefore hold altar-slabs. The head-dresses there faintly suggest that the statues were groups of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. But in the Royal Tomb (*Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. i.) the two statues are similar and male. If a former statue of Nefertiti was retained here, it may have been a reason for providing a shrine for Tyi behind.

Two side-corridors lead to the space behind. Here, forming a long gallery which may be a reminiscence at least of the former corridor, is a series of some eight altar-statues, the Queen (Tyi ?) alternating as before with the two Kings. In the centre is a naos standing free from the wall. It is set on a corniced platform to which three or four steps lead up, and is walled all round,[1] doors giving admittance in front. There is no sign of its being ceiled. Inside is a simple table of offerings, shut off from prying eyes by a screen.[2]

An unusual feature here is the erection of royal statues on the steps. Four are shown, but probably they did not stand in file as depicted, but two and two on each side of the stairway. "Statues" I have said, but in truth there is nothing to prevent us from seeing in them four royal personages, except the difficulty of granting the existence of two Kings together at this time. Their hands are extended and bear offerings on a slab.[3] On the same grounds as before I conclude that they represent Amenhetep III. and Akhenaten, with Tyi as both wife and mother of a King. One would have expected to find the statues within the naos and facing outwards;[4] the attitude suggests that they were not placed there to receive worship and gifts, but to enable the royal spirits to make acceptable offering to the Sun eternally in the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten.

The inadequacy of the conventions employed by the Egyptian draughtsman and the caprice shown in their employment have afforded us frequent ground of complaint in dealing with the plans of the temple and palace; they are glaring in the inability or neglect to indicate in any way, even when drawing an elevation, whether the building was roofed or hypaethral. As columns are only employed here and there in the temple, the roofing over of any single division of the main building is out of the question. The shrines and the small chambers round central courts seem the only parts of the building, beside the colonnades, on which a roof can even be suspected.[5]

In estimating the value of this identification of the "Sun-shade" with the Lesser Sanctuary or a part of it, the omission of the Greater Sanctuary must not weigh with us at all, since that occurs in all the abbreviated (?) plans. It may still be urged against it, however, that—

(1) Such reconstruction is unlikely in so short a period. (But unroofed courts are easily remodelled, and there are many signs of the King's rapid changes, even in buildings.)[6]

(2) There were certainly other shrines in Akhetaten, and perhaps even a number of "Sun-shades" (Part II., p. 26.)

(3) The omission by Huya of the inner court with the great stela and the statue is strange. (But the artist is omitting everything except the new features introduced in honour of Tyi.)

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[1] The corniced wall is only shown in section at the back. But a back wall only and front gates would be absurd.

[2] Cf. Plates xiv., xxx. (broken) and I. xxxii. (centre of Meryra's house). The central structure in the building shown in Part I., p. 40, is on essentially the same model.

[3] See remarks below on remains found in the ruins.

[4] In the accompanying plan of the sanctuary I have not interpreted strictly the eastward (shrine-ward) position of all the statues in the portico and colonnade; it is none the less a little unexpected and may be intentional.

[5] I have roofed in the side chambers in the reconstruction on p. 40 of Part I., but on somewhat slender grounds. The corniced line above a building only implies a corniced outer wall. We might expect a simple guide in the difference of entrances; gate-posts indicating a walled enclosure, but doorways with lintels a roofed building. But if I. xxxii. gives us hope of such a reservation, I. xxxi. proves it vain; and if open gateways at least never admit to roofed buildings, then not a single chamber in the temple was ceiled. If it be claimed that the store-chambers must have been roofed, it can only be replied that pains are taken in II. xxxvi. to show that such a chamber was open to the sky.

[6] PETRIE, *T. A.*, p. 9.

(4) The probability is that such a peristyle court would not be a forecourt, but placed within a temple. (The temple of the Aten was of a new type, more nearly approaching that of Deir el Bahri.)

(5) The Royal Tomb, which is presumably later, does not show these alterations. (The picture seems modelled on early designs, which paid little regard to structural accuracy.)

(6) The mention of the temple of the Aten in the titulary is omitted in this tomb only.

Since the plans give no decisive result, let us turn to the ruins themselves. As described by Professor Petrie,[1] the outer wall forms an enormous rectangular oblong, enclosing at the far end remains of a small sandstone temple, marked by numerous chips.[2] Nothing but a few sculptured blocks was found here. The main space of the enclosure was covered with chips (possibly from altars), but no signs of the walls of another sanctuary, of pylons, or dividing walls were met with. Fragments of a limestone stela and a sculptured block of one of Akhenaten's successors were the sole discoveries. Near the entrance were enormous foundations of concrete, and the lower part of innumerable pillars.[3]

These results are very meagre; but a heap just outside the wall yielded remains which strongly support us in placing the "Sun-shade of Queen Tyi," pictured by Huya, at the back of the great temple enclosure. Mr. Carter, working for Professor Petrie, found here

(1) Fragments of a colossal limestone statue of a King holding the crook and flail. (Compare the statues of Akhenaten (?) in the portico, I. xxxiii.)

(2) Fragments of the upper parts of seven statues wearing the *khepersh* helmet. (Seven such are pictured on each side of the temple by Huya).

(3) Fragments of five statues with the *klaft* or *nems* head-dress. (Eight such are pictured on each side.)

(4) Fragments of five female statues, one sitting. (Fifteen are shown on each side.)

(5) A flat slab with two hands underneath inscribed with the names of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. (Compare the statues noticed in the first shrine.)

(6) Fragments of a great limestone stela (Petrie, *T. A.*, xii. 1, 2), in honour of the King and Queen. (Compare the great stela which stood in the court.)

(7) Scarcely a fragment of lower parts of statues. (All save those holding slabs were altar statues, and formed a solid block below the elbow, which could be utilized for building.)

This evidence seems overwhelming; for, while next to nothing suggesting the presence of a temple such as this was found anywhere else in the city, the most astonishingly precise confirmation of the pictorial records was derived from this spot. Two qualifications have to be made. Firstly, the remains correspond to the sanctuary as shown by Huya, but to the court of it as shown by Meryra; for the statues seen in the colonnade of Huya do not seem to be represented by the discoveries, while the stela, statue, and Osirian figures of I. xxxiii. are.[4] But we cannot separate the two parts of the design of Huya, nor would it help us to do so. The second qualification is that another site could be found in the city, if necessary, for Tyi's

[1] Petrie, *T. A.*, pp. 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 43.

[2] See also Erbkam's earlier plan (L. *D.*, i. 63, 64).

[3] The former perhaps were meant to receive obelisks; the latter, probably, to raise this end of the temple above the soil. This hypothesis is confirmed by pictures which show the temple on a platform reached by a sloping ascent (IV. xviii., xx; *Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. xliii., xlv.).

[4] The coincidence then becomes still more exact; for each of the statues of Akhenaten, except the colossi, would be represented by the fragments; viz., five life-size altar-statues with the helmet, one holding a slab (No. 1 of Petrie's list), one colossal Osirian figure (out of four), and one double life-size figure (the statue near the stela, No. 2 of Petrie).

"Sun-shade"; viz., that of the smaller "Temple" of Petrie's and Erbkam's plans. It is an enclosure divided into three courts, entered by as many pylons, the last containing traces of a sanctuary. Professor Petrie found nothing worthy of record on the site, but Lepsius, half a century earlier, places in the back court the ruins of a sandstone shrine, something of the shape of the Lesser Sanctuary. He also records that he saw near the entrance fragments of stone with the names of the King and Queen and also of Tyi, and that in the centre of the court "where the altar would stand" lay fragments of black and red granite (compare the altar with a red and black stone parapet noticed in the court of Huya's picture).[1] But this slight similarity is negatived by other features and cannot seriously detract from the strong evidence for the other site.

[1] L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 124.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF AHMES ( ).[1]

A. Architectural Features.

Exterior (Plates xxvi., xxvii.).—The tomb is situated a short distance West of the tomb of Meryra, the high-priest; it faces South-West. There being a corner of steep cliff at this point, only a small amount of quarrying had to be done to gain a vertical face of the required height. The space so levelled, and enlarged by the *débris* cast out from the excavation, was occupied in later times for shelters, the stone walls of which still cumber the spot. The entrance portal, on each side of which the wall of rock has been dressed for a corresponding height, consists of a simple framing slightly recessed (Plate xxvii.), and decorated with inscriptions in the style already familiar. It will be noticed that in the cartouches of Ra-Aten the early spelling of the name of the sun-god by means of the disc-crowned hawk is employed;[2] as also the differentiation of the two determinatives of the word "father" above them.[3] The doorway has been mutilated by the cutting of a fanlight over it by some later occupier, and more recently by the removal of a large part of the left jamb.

A translation of the texts will be found on p. 32.

Interior. Wall Thicknesses (Plates xxviii., xxix., xxxviii.).—Both sides of the entrance once contained the figure and inscription customary in this situation, executed in the best style of the period and brightly coloured. But they were cut to pieces in the great theft of inscriptions which was made for the purpose of sale in 1893 (Plate xxxvii.). Fortunately the texts are in most instances recoverable from earlier copies and photographs. The ceiling here retains portions of the painted design and something, in parts, of the original brightness of colour.[4]

The Hall (Plates xxvi., xxxviii.).—This has the form of a lengthy corridor, the further end of which is entirely taken up with the doorway to the inner chambers and its corniced framing (Plate xxxviii.). The ceiling, which at the South end is strongly arched, becomes almost flat at the other. Two recesses cut in the East wall bear witness to the use of the tomb as a dwelling.

The Inner Rooms.—The further door gives access by a short passage in the wall to a second corridor at right angles to the former, containing the place of sepulture. The burial shaft descends from a bank of rock at the East end; though partially filled, it is open to a depth of nearly thirty feet. At the other end of the

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[1] The tomb is No. 3; No. 4 of Lepsius.

[2] Cf. pp. 9, 15.

[3] Reasons have already been given for making this tomb and that of Pentu the earliest in this group, dating from about the ninth year of the King (Part II., p. 7).

[4] The design is in three panels, as in I. xxix., and the pattern closely resembles pattern A there; but the green of the border has been covered over by drab, and the hearts of the diamonds, instead of being blue and red, are red, with the inmost diamond picked out in white.

corridor a few feet of a second and perhaps later shaft have been cut in the floor. At each end of the corridor an imitation portal has been hewn in the wall behind the shaft. They are out of place here, being taken over from the class of tomb where this cross corridor formed the main hall (cf. IV. xiv.). A doorway in the axis of the tomb leads from this corridor to the shrine, and the ceiling is here heightened to give the aspect of a central aisle. The portal of the shrine (Plate xxvii.) is of the kind already met with in the tomb of Huya (Plate xix.), but has been left unfinished. A mistake was made by cutting insets in the transom and filling them with the *dad* signs, columns, and *sa* or signet signs, which should have been put in the panels above. They were afterwards obliterated with plaster, but are now partially revealed. The shrine contains the usual seated statue of the deceased man: it appears to have been as well executed as the material permitted, but has been badly mutilated. A rough basin has been cut in the floor before it, as if for purposes of libation. The roof is arched. Pivot-holes in the floor of the entrance show that the chamber was closed by folding doors.

The whole tomb is laid out with great accuracy, and the walls are cut true and smooth. In the outer corridor the wall-surfaces were given a fine coating of plaster, but the decoration which they were meant to receive was only very partially applied. On the East side some traces of red paint indicate the King, Queen, and three princesses under the radiant sun. All the rest is blank, and the clean surface proving too great a tempation to visitors in the days of the Ptolemies, they scratched their names over the whole space (see Plate xxxv. and p. 34). On the West side the greater part of the upper of the two designs which were projected is preserved to us in ink or sculpture, and also a fragment of the lower. The remaining space is covered with graffiti. All the walls are remarkably free from dirt.

B. The Sculptured Scenes.

1.—The Prayers of Ahmes.

The Thickness of the Outer Wall. Plates xxviii., xxix.

For previous copies see p. 31.

The two figures of Ahmes which occur here show the usual dress (cf. p. 4). His decorations are few, consisting only of a double row of gold beads round his neck; but he carries on his back the insignia of his offices, secured to a strap which passes over his shoulder. The fan indicates his position as fan-bearer on the right hand of the King; the long-bladed military axe shows the command of soldiery which this and his other offices necessarily involved, or rendered him liable to.[1]

A list of the titles of Ahmes and a translation of the prayers will be found below, pp. 31-33.

The device on the East side for filling up the superfluous space by bars of colour (blue, green, blue, red) at intervals is paralleled, according to Lepsius, in a tomb of El Bersheh.[2]

2. A Royal Visit to the Temple.

West Wall. Upper half. Plates xxx. to xxxii. A, xxxix.

[No previous copies have been made. Lepsius and L'Hôte (*Papiers*, xvii. 4) took squeezes, and the former made a plaster cast, of which Steindorff publishes a photograph in his *Blütezeit d. Pharaonenreichs*, p. 155.]

The greater part of this picture is preserved. On the extreme right it was never even sketched, or has utterly faded away. The royal chariot (Plate xxxii.) is partially preserved in the original red ink sketch. The soldiers (Plate xxxi.) are finished with extreme care and are well-preserved, though somewhat injured by the casting and squeezing to which the scene has been subjected. The temple (Plate xxx.) as far as the second pylon and the division below it is but

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[1] Cf. I. xxx., and Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, p. 196.

[2] L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 136.

half-finished, and has besides had large parts cut away by thieves. The existence of the rest of the picture was not suspected, as the surface is to all appearance quite blank. But chance observation showed me that parts of the design at least had survived, yet in a yellow ink which had conformed so exactly to the colour of the wall that it could only be recovered by blindly following the lines on the wall with a pencil, guided less by their colour than their texture.

The drawing thus recovered is the frequent one of a state visit to the sanctuary of the royal statues in the temple, though we are not aware of anything in the career or offices of Ahmes which could be an occasion for its insertion here. Its prototype seems plainly to be the scene in the tomb of Mahu,[1] though the design is considerably altered, and was still further changed for the tombs of Panehesy and Meryra (I., x., x.A; II. xiii.).

The lost part probably showed Ahmes and his attendants, or perhaps the other two princesses and their train. The horses which draw the royal chariot have been sketched with great freedom, the head and neck showing great superiority of outline over other designs. The initial sketch seems to have been in faint yellow ink, corrected and redrawn in red; but both have had to be used in Plate xxxii., and this, taken with the indistinctness of the lines in parts, must do some injustice to the Egyptian artist. The figures of the royal personages were rubbed out in the general defacement of the monuments after the King's death, and they have had to be restored (Plate xxxii.A) by help of the design of Mahu. The King and Queen are represented as chatting face to face in the car, while the little Merytaten, whose head reaches with difficulty over the rim, is interested in the prancing horses.

The chariot is immediately preceded by a troop of foot-soldiers, who run in two detachments, headed by a trumpeter (Plates xxxi., xxxix.).[2] Although the habits of Egyptian draughtsmen preclude easy confidence that an actual military organization is revealed here, there is a mixture of symmetry and divergence which strongly suggests that knowledge, and not caprice, has guided the artist. Since Ahmes had some military command or supervision, he may well have excluded professional blunders.

It is clear that the four files contain ten men each, the last man being an Egyptian armed with falchion and baton; the eleventh man in the three lower rows is manifestly an officer, holding a baton only; in the top row the corresponding place has evidently been vacated by the trumpeter, who must be in charge of the whole escort. The rear men of the files thus seem here to take the place of our non-commissioned officers; elsewhere they are not so employed, but either in regiments or on police duty. They may have been a crack regiment appointed to positions of trust, and placed here as a rear guard or as instructors to the irregular troops.

The detachments seem to be composite. Each is led by six Egyptian spearmen, and the standard-bearers of the six regiments they represent. There follow them representative soldiers of the non-Egyptian regiments, which were perhaps attached to the native regiments in equal numbers (or in half their strength). In the upper detachment we see two bearded Syrian spearmen, a negro bowman, a Lybian archer with characteristically shaped bow, an Egyptian sergeant (?) whose presence here breaks the symmetry, and a second negro with

[1] IV. xx., xxii. (*Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. xlv., xlvi.). Hence Merytaten only is seen, and in her parents' chariot; whereas the Northern tombs show the princesses in their own cars.

[2] For the trumpeter compare Plate xii. and WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs*, i., pp. 192 (a very similar picture to this), 456, 457; *Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. ii. The representation in Plate xii. is curious, as one can hardly imagine two trumpets being used at once.

a club. In the lower detachment are three Syrian spearmen, two Ethiopian bowmen, and a negro with a club; all of similar appearance to those above.[1] Each officer is thus in charge of ten men, a favourite military unit.

The standards are of the five types which occur in these tombs. It seems most reasonable to assign them to the six (or twelve) Egyptian regiments; for the pictures do not enable us to allot distinctive standards to the foreign corps. It will be noticed that some of the standard-bearers, here and elsewhere, have a different dress from the rest.

As in I. x.A, the cortège is met at the gate of the temple by the military guard and by the officials, who approach presenting bouquets and offering sacrificial birds and cattle (Pl. xxx.). Other beasts await acceptance in the inner court, close by the slaughter-house. All is astir within the temple, servants running through the great gates of the courts in haste to make ready for the royal visit.

The building here depicted is the temple enclosure, but with the whole of the Greater Sanctuary absent. It seems that this is due only to economy of space, the Smaller Sanctuary being the object of visit. The absence of any traces of the walls of this building in the ruins of the temple might make one suspect that the pictures of the Great Sanctuary in the tombs of Meryra and Panehesy only represent the unexecuted plans which were in the hands of these priests, and that it was in reality never carried out. But in face of the extensive building in the city and the mention of several shrines in the temple of the Aten, this is scarcely likely, and the early tomb of Mahu shows an elevation of the great pylon which it would be hard to explain away (IV. xx., xxi.: *Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. xliii., xlv.).

The first gateway is the outermost entrance; the second, as the lavers, the choir, and the great royal statue show, is the gateway which admits to the court of the Lesser Sanctuary; and the third is the gateway of that building. There is no essential divergence in this picture from the other plans, a comparison and explanation of which will be found in Part II., pp. 20-28, and on pp. 19-25 of this volume.

The space between the first and second gateways (down to the bottom of the Plate) is, then, that occupied already or destined to be occupied by the Great Sanctuary. Some of the objects seen here are afterwards shown in that building, and the two sets of lavers seem by their position to imply its existence. The mutilation of the wall prevents us from knowing if the great altar was shown, but duplicate pictures and the presence of an altar of another type make it very unlikely. We may also note the player on the lute and his chorus, who here supplement the harpers' choir in the inner court.

3. The Royal Family at Home.

West Wall—Lower Scenes. Plates xxxiii., xxxiv.

A previous copy is:—
Hay, *MSS.* 29814, fol. 26 (partial).[2]

Of the scene which was destined to cover this part of the long west wall, only a small part of the ink design was ever carried out with the chisel, and what was unexecuted is erased. The sculpture too has been defaced in ancient, and again in recent times. From the little that remains, it seems likely that the picture was connected with Ahmes' office as chamberlain; for the existing fragment shows the royal family seated at meat in the hall of the palace. The remainder would probably have depicted Ahmes waiting on his sovereign, the reward of his assiduity in this office, and perhaps the congratulations received by him at home on this mark of favour. The contemporary tomb of

[1] For such mixed troops cf. I. x., II. xvii.; *Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. iv.

[2] The princess in Plate xxxiv. and the upper part of Plate xxxiii. have been restored from this source.

thy heart and seeing what thou hast made every day. He rejoices at seeing thy beauty. Grant to him life, [prosperity, health, delight, and] joy,[1] and all thy circuit under (?) [his feet. He][2] administers them[3] for thy *ka*; (he) thine offspring whom thou thyself hast begotten, known . . . . . the South like the North and West and East. The islands[4] in the midst of the ocean are in praise to his *ka*. His[5] Southern boundary (extends) as far as the breezes, and his northern boundaries as far as Aten shines.[6] All their chiefs[7] are suppliants (?), fainting before the will of him, the good Spirit, who brings joy to the Two Lands and makes the wealth of the land in its entirety. Place him along with thee for ever and ever, since he loves to look on thee. Grant to him *sed*-festivals exceeding numerous, of years of peace. Grant unto him[8] of that which thy heart loveth, like the multitude of the sands of the dunes, like the scales of the fish in the streams or the hair of the cattle. Set him here till the swan (?) grows black and the crow (?)[9] grows white, till the hills rise up to travel and the deep runs up the river,[10] I being attendant on the good god until he orders a burial of his giving."[11]

2. The Shorter Prayers.

1. (Lintel of entrance. Plate xxvii. Left side.)

"An ascription of praise to the living Aten, and an act of homage to the good King by the Royal Chancellor,* the Sole Companion, follower of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, the favourite of the good god, whom his lord loves every day,* the veritable scribe of the King, beloved of him, the Steward of the house of Akhenaten and Superintendent of the Court-house of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ahmes, *maakheru* and possessor of reward."

2. The inscription on the right hand is as above, substituting for the starred passage "he who has approach to the person of the god (i.e. the King), the chief of chiefs, sage (?) of the Two Lands, First of the Companions."

3. Burial Petitions.

2. (Jambs of outer door. Plate xxvii.)

Previous copy:—

L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 289.[12]

"A *dy hetep seten* of Ra-Horakhti and Nefer-kheperu-ra (alternating with Akhenaten).

(1) (Left side). "May he grant [entrance and][13] exit from the King's house, and that (his) members be provided with[14] pleasure every day."

(2) "May he [grant] the favour of his (?) children, and a reception of loaves from his offerings."

(3) "[May he grant] life, prosperity, health, amusement,[15] happiness and delight."

(4) "[May he grant] rejoicing daily and the sight of his fair face every day."

(5) (Right jamb). "May he grant . . . . . in every place which he treads."

(6) "May he grant the sight of Aten from his rising until there comes his setting as Aten."

(7) "May he grant a happy life, seeing his beauty, and a goodly burial after old age."

(8) "May he grant admission (lit. 'a place of the foot') within the palace to see the King Ua-en-ra."

Close. "For the *ka* of the veritable scribe of the King, beloved by him, the Superintendent of the Court-house and Steward of the house of Akhenaten, great in his duration, Ahmes . . . . ."; the last two titles alternating with "Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King."

D. Ahmes.

The titles given to Ahmes in his tomb are—

1. Veritable Scribe of the King.

---

[1] From Plates iii. and xxvii.

[2] The sense is clear from I. xli. and II. xxx., but not the text.

[3] That is, the lands. Emend to (I. xli.).

[4] From Huya.

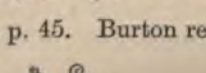
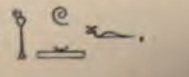
[5] has been omitted in the plate.

[6] Cf. Part II., p. 45, Pl. xxx.

[7] This word-sign represents a man of Syria in a white robe with red bordering, and an under-garment with sleeves reaching to the wrists.

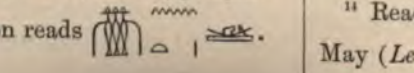
[8] Read (Huya).

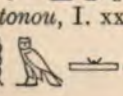
[9] The words *shanfet*, *nekhent*, *sneferu*, are new to the vocabulary. For the first Mr. Griffith quotes the Coptic derivative ϣⲉⲛϥⲓ, and below, ϯⲧⲟ, *pelagus*.

[10] Cf. Part II., p. 45. Burton reads  . Emending to  .

[11] Whence the restorations in the plate. I have since found a photograph taken by Professor Petrie, which gives the text still more fully.

[12] Cf. II. ix.

[13] Reading  from a text in the tomb of May (*Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. xxxi.).

[14] Emending to  .

who apparently sits on the ground and leans against the knees of a companion.

II. The Men's Apartments.—As this division is almost an exact counterpart of the sets of rooms (3) and (4) above, I conclude that it is the men's side of the house.

Plate xxxiii. exhibits an interesting feature in connection with the vault of heaven, which, as is customary, is stretched above the scene, its ends resting upon the shoulders of the mountains. At their foot a tree and a shrub are placed. This tree occurs again in a similar position on a block of this date from Karnak in Cairo Museum, and also in the tomb of Ay.[1] M. Maspero recognizes in this tree one of the two "sycomores of malachite" which grew at the spot where the sun entered and left the upper world.[2]

C.—The Religious Texts.

1. The Longer Prayers.

1. (East Wall-thickness. Plates xxviii., xxxviii.)

Previous copies are:—
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 288.
Lepsius, D. iii. 98*a*.[3]

"Thy setting is beautiful, O living Aten, Lord of lords, Ruler of the Two Lands. [When thou traversest the upper regions[4]] in peace the Two Lands and the peoples are jubilant towards thee, giving praise to him who formed them[5] [prostrating themselves to him who fosters][6] them, who guidest by thy circuit, by thy shining forth,[7] thy beloved son, the King of the South and North, living on Truth, Nefer-kheperu-ra, the entire land, and all the countries; that they may make laudations at thy dawning and at thy setting likewise.

"O God[8] who livest on Truth manifestly (lit. "in face of the eyes"). Thou hast made that which existed not, making these things in their entirety, ... coming forth from thy mouth. Thou hast given to me favour before the King every day without fail and a goodly burial after old age in the cliff of Akhetaten. For I have completed my life with happiness, being an attendant of the good god; he hath trodden every place that he desired,[9] I following his feet. He fostered me when I was a youth until I attained[10] honoured old age in peace and joy and attendance on the Ruler; he being in festival every day."

2. (West Wall-thickness. Plate xxix.)

Previous copies are:—
Burton, *Excerpta*, plate vii.
L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 287[11]; *Lettres Écrites*, p. 75 (figure and titles).

"Thy dawning is beautiful, Ra-Horakhti, who givest life for ever and ever, [the living Aten] beside whom there is [no other], giving health to the eyes [by his rays]; he who has made all that is. Thou risest on the horizon of heaven [to give life to all that thou hast made], viz. all mankind, [cattle,] flying and fluttering things, [with] all kinds of reptiles which are on the earth. They are lively when they see thee. They lie down [when] thou settest.

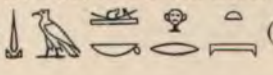
"Thou givest thy beloved son, Nefer-kheperu-ra. He lives with thee for ever, [doing that which is pleasing to]

---

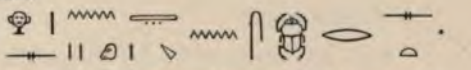
[1] L. *D.* iii. 106*a*. (Two trees: the sky wrongly rendered).

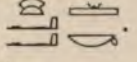
[2] *Revue Critique*, Nov. 7th, 1904; they are referred to in the Book of the Dead, chapters cix. and cxlix. *b*. M. Maspero is misled when he supposes that this tree has been omitted in the tombs already published by me. It evidently belongs to the earlier series of designs; later the mythological detail was banned.

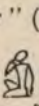
[3] The restorations in the plate are from this copy. Starred hieroglyphs have been slightly altered, being obvious errors. For this I have had more or less complete support from the duplicate text on the W. thickness of the inner wall of Huya's tomb. A photograph taken by Professor Petrie shows about a third of the text and completely confirms the old copies. The text of Huya, being badly preserved, was not copied but carefully collated. All variants are noted here.

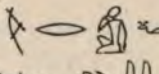
[4] Supplying  (Huya).

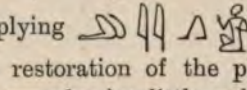
[5] Huya seems to read "giving praise because of thy rising"; the scribe's eye having apparently wandered to the adjacent column.

[6] Conjecturing  .
The seems certain in Huya's text, and the rest is compatible with the defaced signs.

[7] I should have written  .

[8] Var.  "Ruler" (Huya).

[9] Read  .

[10] Supplying  (Huya).

[11] The restoration of the plate is from this source, Burton's copy having little value. L'Hôte is supported by an injured text in the tomb of Huya (Pl. iii.). The lacunæ are mostly supplied from I. xxxvi.

thy heart and seeing what thou hast made every day. He rejoices at seeing thy beauty. Grant to him life, [prosperity, health, delight, and] joy,[1] and all thy circuit under (?) [his feet. He][2] administers them [3] for thy *ka*; (he) thine offspring whom thou thyself hast begotten, known . . . . . the South like the North and West and East. The islands [4] in the midst of the ocean are in praise to his *ka*. His [5] Southern boundary (extends) as far as the breezes, and his northern boundaries as far as Aten shines.[6] All their chiefs [7] are suppliants (?), fainting before the will of him, the good Spirit, who brings joy to the Two Lands and makes the wealth of the land in its entirety. Place him along with thee for ever and ever, since he loves to look on thee. Grant to him *sed*-festivals exceeding numerous, of years of peace. Grant unto him [8] of that which thy heart loveth, like the multitude of the sands of the dunes, like the scales of the fish in the streams or the hair of the cattle. Set him here till the swan (?) grows black and the crow (?) [9] grows white, till the hills rise up to travel and the deep runs up the river,[10] I being attendant on the good god until he orders a burial of his giving." [11]

2. The Shorter Prayers.

1. (Lintel of entrance. Plate xxvii. Left side.)

"An ascription of praise to the living Aten, and an act of homage to the good King by the Royal Chancellor,* the Sole Companion, follower of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, the favourite of the good god, whom his lord loves every day,* the veritable scribe of the King, beloved of him, the Steward of the house of Akhenaten and Superintendent of the Court-house of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ahmes, *maakheru* and possessor of reward."

2. The inscription on the right hand is as above, substituting for the starred passage "he who has approach to the person of the god (i.e. the King), the chief of chiefs, sage (?) of the Two Lands, First of the Companions."

3. Burial Petitions.

2. (Jambs of outer door. Plate xxvii.)

Previous copy :—

L'Hôte, *Papiers*, iii. 289.[12]

"A *dy hetep seten* of Ra-Horakhti and Nefer-kheperu-ra (alternating with Akhenaten).

(1) (Left side). "May he grant [entrance and] [13] exit from the King's house, and that (his) members be provided with [14] pleasure every day."

(2) "May he [grant] the favour of his (?) children, and a reception of loaves from his offerings."

(3) "[May he grant] life, prosperity, health, amusement,[15] happiness and delight."

(4) "[May he grant] rejoicing daily and the sight of his fair face every day."

(5) (Right jamb). "May he grant . . . . . in every place which he treads."

(6) "May he grant the sight of Aten from his rising until there comes his setting as Aten."

(7) "May he grant a happy life, seeing his beauty, and a goodly burial after old age."

(8) "May he grant admission (lit. 'a place of the foot') within the palace to see the King Ua-en-ra."

Close. "For the *ka* of the veritable scribe of the King, beloved by him, the Superintendent of the Court-house and Steward of the house of Akhenaten, great in his duration, Ahmes . . . . ."; the last two titles alternating with "Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King."

D. Ahmes.

The titles given to Ahmes in his tomb are—

1. Veritable Scribe of the King.

---

[1] From Plates iii. and xxvii.

[2] The sense is clear from I. xli. and II. xxx., but not the text.

[3] That is, the lands. Emend to (I. xli.).

[4] From Huya.

[5] has been omitted in the plate.

[6] Cf. Part II., p. 45, Pl. xxx.

[7] This word-sign represents a man of Syria in a white robe with red bordering, and an under-garment with sleeves reaching to the wrists.

[8] Read (Huya).

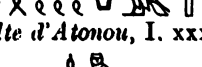
[9] The words *shanfet*, *nekhent*, *sneferu*, are new to the vocabulary. For the first Mr. Griffith quotes the Coptic derivative ϣⲉⲛϥⲓ, and below, ⲙⲁⲧⲟ, *pelagus*.

[10] Cf. Part II., p. 45. Burton reads .

Emending to .

[11] Whence the restorations in the plate. I have since found a photograph taken by Professor Petrie, which gives the text still more fully.

[12] Cf. II. ix.

[13] Reading  from a text in the tomb of May (*Le Culte d'Atonou*, I. xxxi.).

[14] Emending to .

[15]

2. Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King.

3. Superintendent of the Court-house.

4. Steward of the house of Akhenaten.

5. Royal Chancellor.

6. Sole Companion and First of the Companions.

7. Follower of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands.

Some of these designations are certainly sinecures, and there are other epithets on p. 32 which are still more empty of real significance. The first four titles, however, represent real and responsible offices of state, and indicate that Ahmes was one of the most confidential servants of the King, and closely attached to his person. History, however, has preserved no further record of his life, and the signs of the King's favour of which Ahmes boasts do not seem to have been very practically exhibited. His tomb lay unfinished through half the reign, those parts precisely which might have commemorated the successful career of the official being neglected to the end.

APPENDIX B.

By Seymour de Ricci.

THE GREEK GRAFFITI.

[The numerous graffiti left by visitors to this tomb have already been mentioned (p. 27). They have been scratched with the point of a sharp stone or a weapon in the plaster of the lower part of the walls of the corridor. Owing to their rough character and frequent overlapping they are difficult to decipher, and I have not attempted to exhaust the material or to reproduce it in exact facsimile. I wished rather to call the attention of those who are specially qualified to deal with it and estimate its value. It includes one Coptic graffito penned in ink but now nearly illegible, almost the only written memorial of the Coptic occupation of the site (Plate xxv.). Most of the graffiti in the Plate are from the East wall; 42, 43, 47, 50, 52, 59 are from the West wall; 10, 43, 44, 48 are from the South end; 57 from the East thickness; 2, 3 are from the shrine; 51, 54, 55, 58 are from the antechamber of Meryra's tomb. The interesting graffito No. 1 is from the wall outside, just on the right of the doorway. A few ink graffiti also from the East wall (No. 12 from the East inner thickness) of the tomb of Huya are dealt with here. Two unpublished graffiti from the West wall of Huya read: "Kotys came" (cf. No. 22), and "Alexander . . . . Lycomedes."—N. de G. D.]

The Greek Graffiti.

The fifty-nine Greek graffiti copied by Mr. N. de G. Davies in the tomb of Ahmes, and reproduced on Plate xxxv. of the present volume, are by no means all unpublished. They were discovered towards 1835 by Wilkinson, whose original copies are doubtless in the Vauncey-Crewe collection. Copies of sixteen graffiti were sent by him to Letronne,[1] who inserted them in the second volume of his *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1848, 4°), pp. 454-459, Nos. 507-522. They were reprinted by Franz in 1850 in the *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iii., pp. 1,190 to 1,191, Nos. 4,705*b* to 4,705*r*. In modern times the only lengthy mention of them known to me is in an article by Prof. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv. (1892), p. 123. He publishes from his own copies fifteen graffiti, and what he considers as part of a Phoenician one.

1. (Letronne, pp. 455-456, No. 510; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*i*).

   Ενθ' αναβας εχαραξε Κατυλλινος εν προ
   [θυρα]ιοις
   τεχνην θαυμαζων των ιερων λαοτομων

   "Having ascended here, Catullinus has engraved this in the doorway, marvelling at the art of the holy quarriers."

   It is also possible to read with Franz *προ[θυρ]οισι*. The whole is a distich.

   The engraver had begun to engrave the second line too near the first one, but after having written the first two letters he stopped and began again a little lower down.

2. *βασιλευ[ς]*
   Θεοδωρος του . . .
   τουις (ετους) εκτου Παειν[ι . .] or *Αθυρζ*?
   The sense is not clear.

3. *ηκωι*
   (ετους) λζ
   "I come . Year 37"
   Note the superfluous iota at the end of the verb.

[1] These copies are included in a list of Letronne's papers drawn up by his daughter after his death. This list is now in my possession; but the greater part of Letronne's papers, including Wilkinson's letters, was lent towards 1868 by Mademoiselle Letronne to the late Carl Wescher, whose MSS. are apparently lost.

4. *Πτολε[μαιος]*
5. *Κοκωφος* (?)
6. (Sayce, No. 11.)
   Φιλονικος
7. [?*Φι*]λωνικος(?)
   Πολυνικου
8. *Απολ*(λ)*οδωρε*
9. Illegible.
10. *Διονυσωδωρος νηωτορος*
    It ought to be *Διονυσοδωρος νεωτερος*
11. (Sayce, No. 1)
    Ανδρονικος
    Ανδρονι[*κου*]
12. In Coptic. Line 1, "Lord God." Line 2, possibly ICAAK.
13. *Καλλων . . .*
14. [*Αυλ*]*ο*[*υτ*]*ραλης* (?) *παρεγενο*[*μην*]
    "Aulutrales (?) I have been here"
15. *Απολλων*[*ιος*]
16. *Πτολεμαιο*[*ς*]
17. *ϵ* (*ετους*) *ιζ Τυ*[*βι . .*]
18. (Forms the second half of Letronne, p. 457, No. 513; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*k*).
    Ζηνοδωρος Χοιαχ $\overline{\iota\zeta}$
    Αριστομενης
    Ε . . ροδεν . νιποτου
    I cannot make out the third line.
19. *. δωτος Θραιξ*
    We shall find in these texts further mention of Thracians, possibly soldiers.
20. (Sayce, No. 6.)
    Ερμαι[*ος*]
    ηκω Μαοφι?
    I cannot read the second line with any certainty. Perhaps *Παωφι*?
21. *Ξανθ*[*ο*]*ς*
    Πτολεμαιου
22. (Letronne, pp. 457-458, No. 516; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*p*).
    Σευθης Κοτυος ωδε
    αφικετο
    "Seuthes son of Kotys came here."
    Thracian names. Cf. No. 36.
23. *Αυλουζελμις*
    A Thracian name. Compare *Αυλουδεα*, *Αυλουζενης*, Aulucentus, Aulurenus, Aulusanus, *Αυλουτραλης* (cf. No. 14), etc.
24. (*Ετους*) *κ*
25. Letronne, p. 456, No. 511; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*h*).
    . . . . . .
    . . . . .
    Ευανθος Αδιφιαν . .
    Ζωιλος Απολλωνιου
    Δωροθεος
    . . . . . .
    Badly preserved. Letronne's readings of Wilkinson's copies are highly improbable.
26. *Σπαρτακος, Μενανδρ*[*ο*]*ς Μενανδρο*[*υ*]
    By two different hands.
27. *Ακουρατο*[*ς*]?
28. *Σπαρτακος φιλιοισινη . . .*
29. *Σπαρτακος ο δρομευς*
    Αλεξανδρου
30. *Πτολεμ*[*αιος*]
    Σωτιον[*ος*]?
31. (Letronne, p. 455, No. 508; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*b*; Sayce).
    (*Ετους*) *ιδ Αισχριων . . λο . του Θραιξ*
    ευλογω τον θεον? *. ν θεον* (*ετους*) *ιδ*
    Μεσορι $\overline{\kappa\beta}$
    Sayce only gives the first line and joins it with No. 32. Letronne reads *τον ευο*[*δο*]*ν θεον*. If *ευλογω τον θεον* is correct, the author of the graffito was a Jew, this special formula being only known from two Graeco-Jewish graffiti at Redesieh in Upper Egypt.
32. (Letronne, p. 454, No. 507, and p. 457, No. 514; Franz, p. 1,191, No. 4,705*g*, and 4,705*d*).
    . . . . . .
    Φιλινου Ταραντινος . . . .
    (*ετους*) *ιθ Αλεξανδρος*
    Πτολεμαιου
    Sayce publishes the second line as partly Carian.

33. Σιλβανος
34. Indecipherable. Line 2 Σευθης
35. (Letronne, p. 458, No. 517; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4705*l*; Sayce, Nos. 2-3).
Μνησιθεος Δωριεως
Νικομαχος Πσοβ-
σαννος
The name Πσοβσαννος is interesting as being a far more accurate transcription of the Egyptian Pasebkhannut than Manetho's Ψουσεννης.
36. Σευθης Κοτνος
Cf. No. 22.
37. (Letronne, p. 458, No. 518; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*m*).
Σωπατρος (ετους) κζ
(ετους) ι Χοιακ ιγ
38. Δισθιοκλο . . . ?
39. Σπαρτακος Φιλιεργους
ωδε
Cf. No. 48.
40. (Letronne, p. 457, No. 513; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*k*; Sayce, No. 5).
Μηνοφιλος ελθον (*i.e.* ηλθον)
41. Κριτιας
Διονυσιοδω[ρος]
42. (ετους) ιζ Πτολ . . . . . ρου Πυρριας Ταητος εραστης. Perhaps [ε]ταιρου
43. (Sayce, No. 8).
Αβραμος ηκω Καβαδοκος
The name Abraham borne by a Cappadocian is startling.
44. (Letronne, p. 455, No. 509; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4705*c*).
(ετους) ιδ Δισχριων
Διοτρεφης (?) . . . . .
ευλογω την Εισιν
45. . . . . ευλογω τον [θεον?]
46. (Letronne, p. 457, No. 515; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*o*).
Πτολεμαιος Θαιτος
Πτολεμαιος Θοας
47. (Sayce, No. 9).
Αριστωνυμος
48. Σπαρτακο[ς] Φιλ[ιεργους]
Cf. No. 39.
49. . . . . .
Πτολεμαιος
ηκω
The first line is probably the Coptic *apa*.
50. Illegible.
51, 52. (Sayce, No. 10).
Ηρακλας
53. Καλλιας Ερμαιου(?)
Απολλωνιο[ς]
54. Ανουβιων
55. (Letronne, p. 458, No. 519; Franz, p. 1,190, No. 4,705*e*).
Πτολλας . . .
Σαραπιων ηκω
56. (Sayce, No. 4 ?).
Σαραπιων
57. Νικαν[ωρ]
58. Διονυσιος
59. Διονυσιος . . .

From the long Coptic graffito on Plate xxv. very little can be gathered, as the text is sadly mutilated. It begins with an invocation: "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Holy Trinity . . ." Further on the word ⲙⲁⲗⲁ "*to pray*" appears to occur twice.

The ink graffiti from the tomb of Huya (Plate xxv. 1-13) are almost illegible.

1. Standing figure of Anubis.
2. The prenomen of Amenhotep III. . . .

3 and 4 show what may be the same name.

5. Α . . θως
6. Ταθωοτης(?)
8. Τευωρ[ι]ς . . . λλιων . . .? Cf. No. 12.
9. "Ptolemy" in Demotic. Published L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 139.
10. Ορνε . . . .
11. Βικως (?) Cf. No. 13.
12. Διονυσια, Τευωρις, Ηραισκος, Σαβειν[ος], Ηρακλα[ς] [Α]γαθων(?), Διον[υσια]
13. Βικως(?), Αρσιησις. This last name published L. *D. Text*, ii., p. 139.

The graffiti near the figures of Anubis read

Λυκας (twice) and probably Τενωρις, as in Nos. 8 and 12.

NOTE.—A considerable collection of Thracian names is given in A. Dumont, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, pp. 538 *seqq.* Several of them occur in our graffiti: Αισχριων, Ανδρονικος, Μενανδρος, Κοτυς, Σευθης, Σπαρτακος, etc. The easiest explanation of the frequent occurrence of Thracian names in Egypt is to regard them as having been borne by mercenaries in the pay of the Ptolemies (see PERDRIZET, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1904, pp. 157-160). Most of our graffiti may well be of the 2nd century B.C., very few being certainly of Roman date.

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PLATES.

NOTE.

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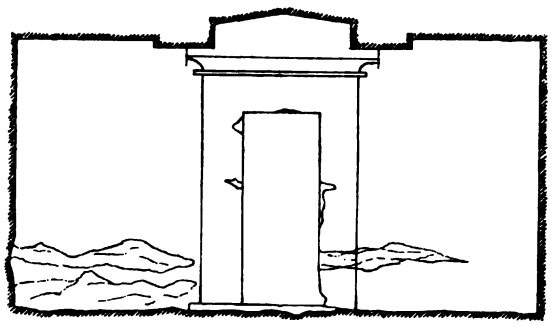

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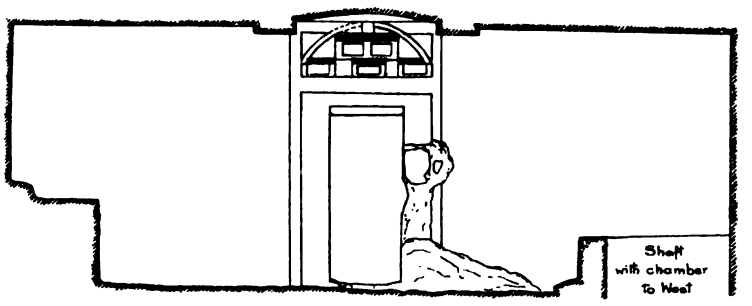

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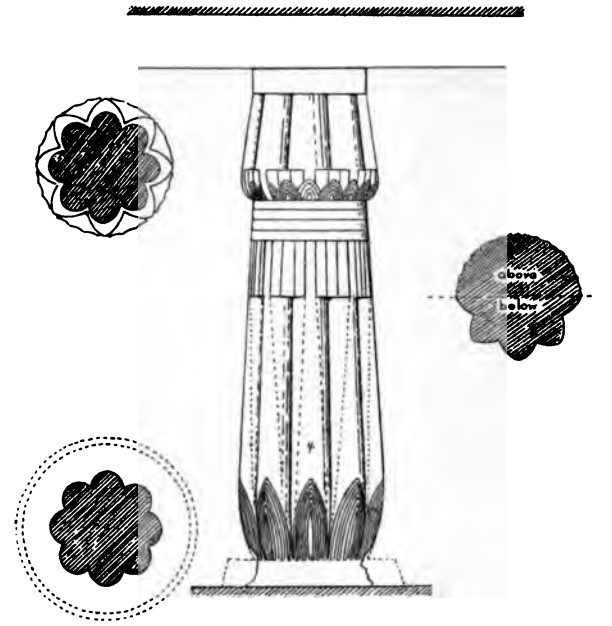

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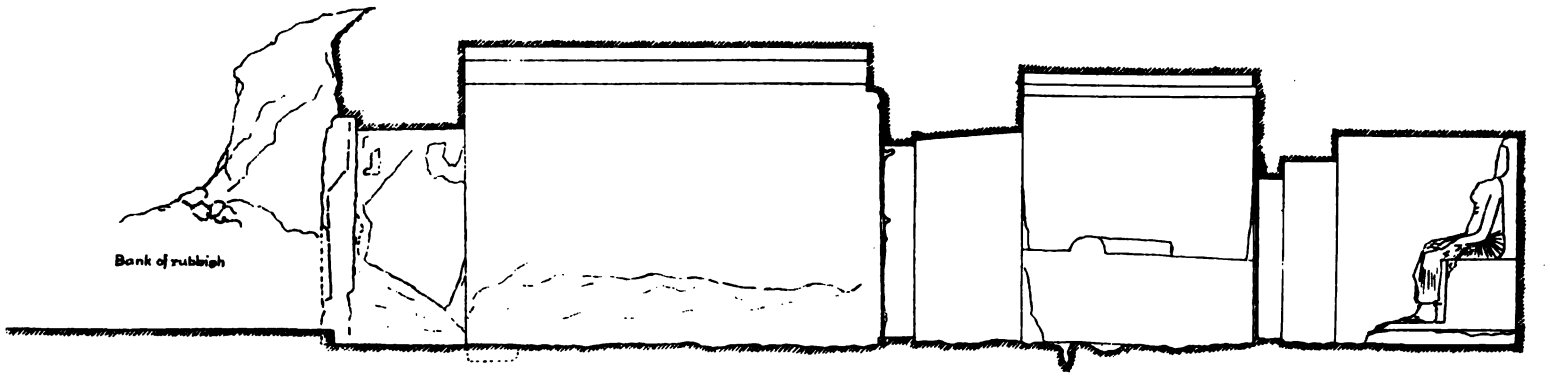

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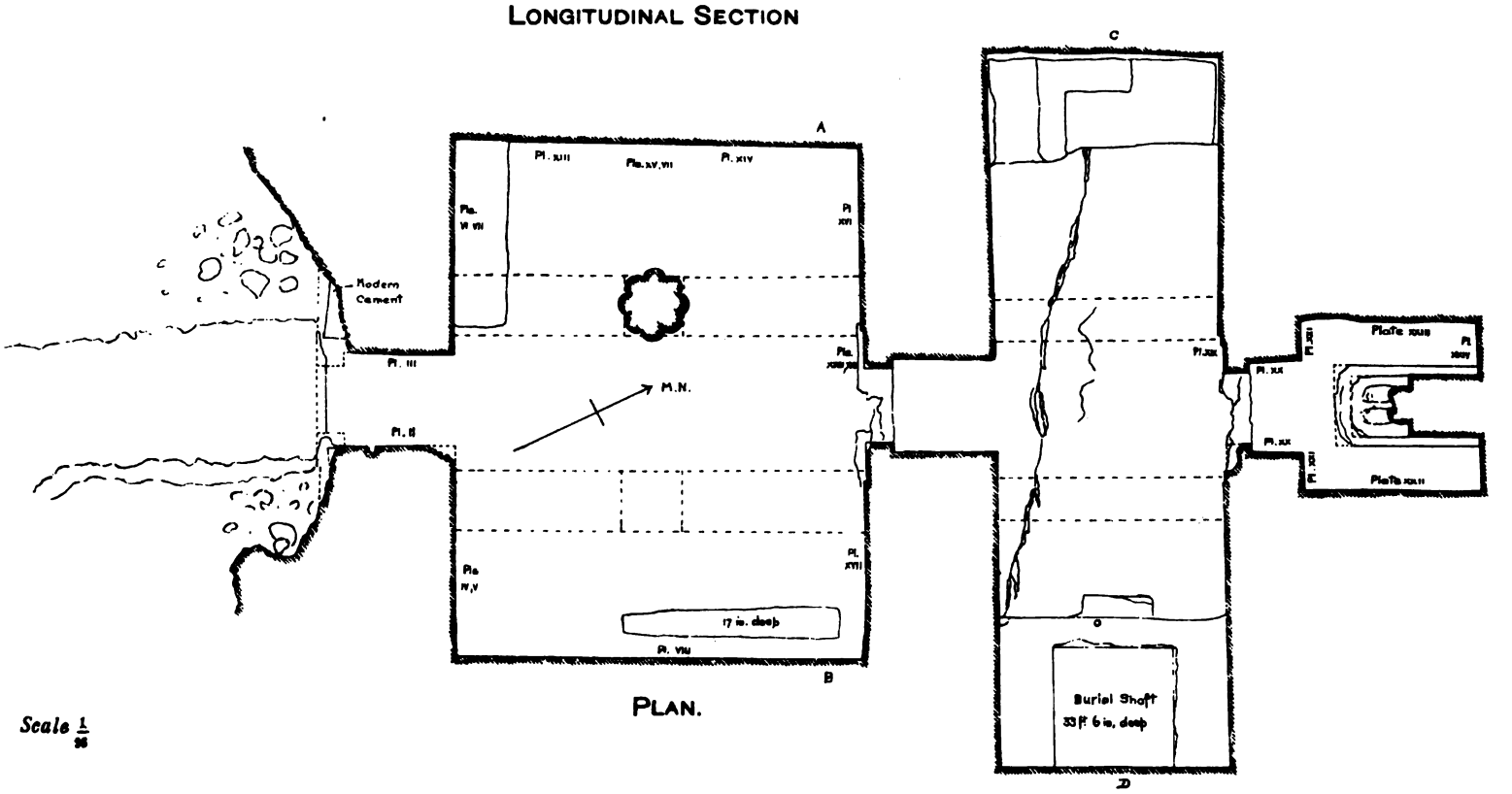

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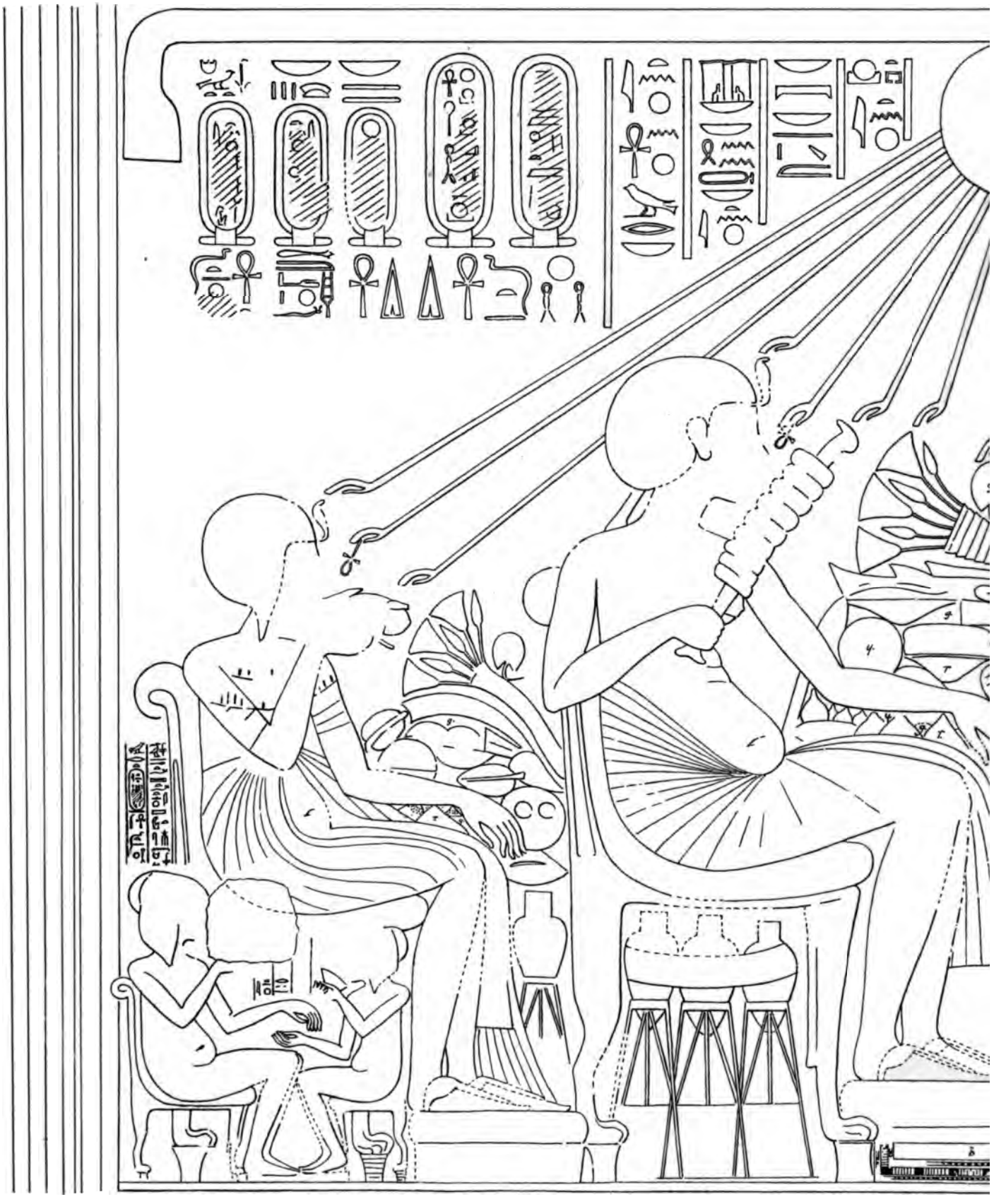

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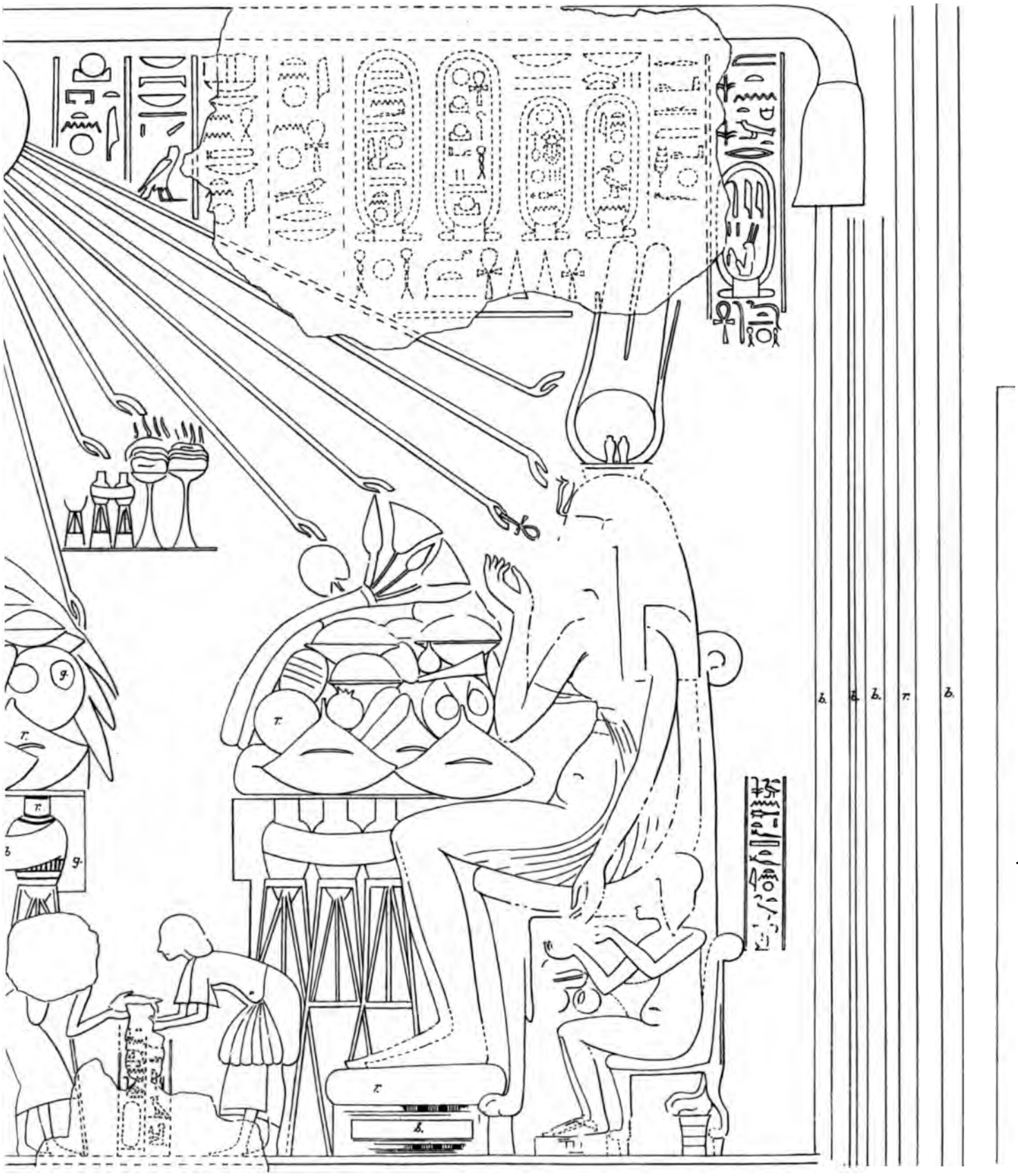

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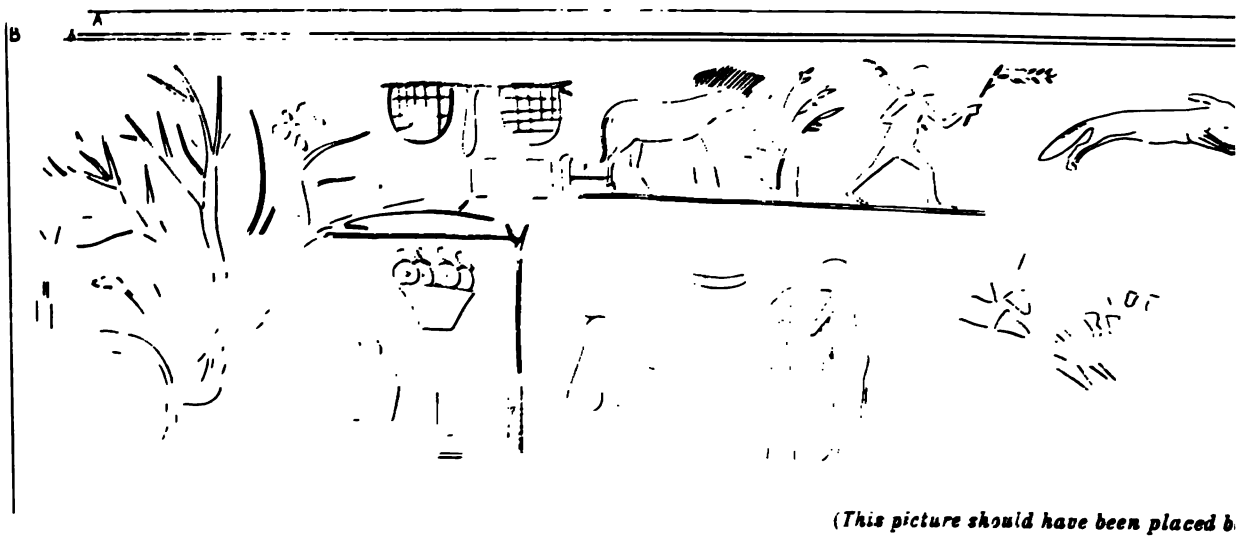

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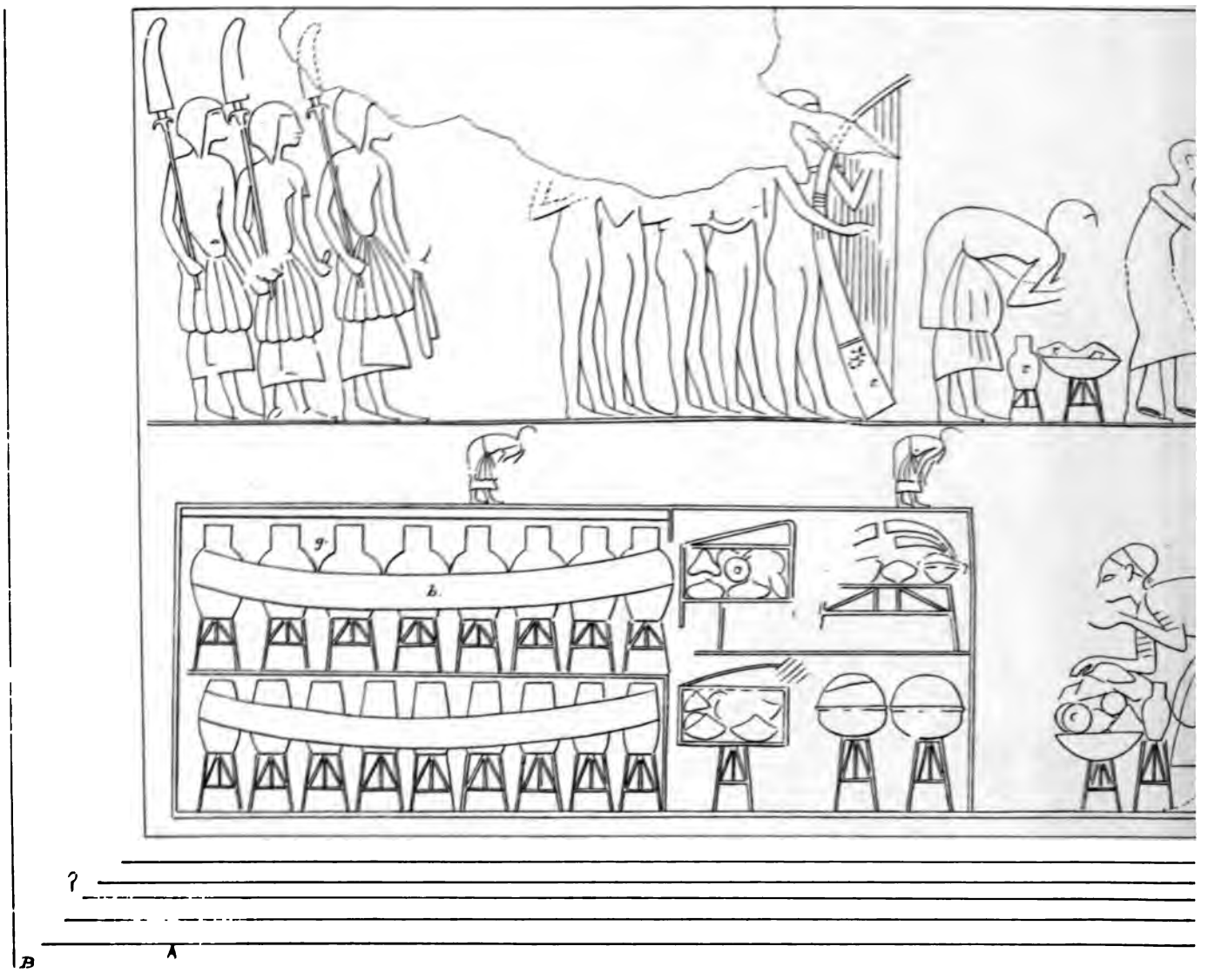

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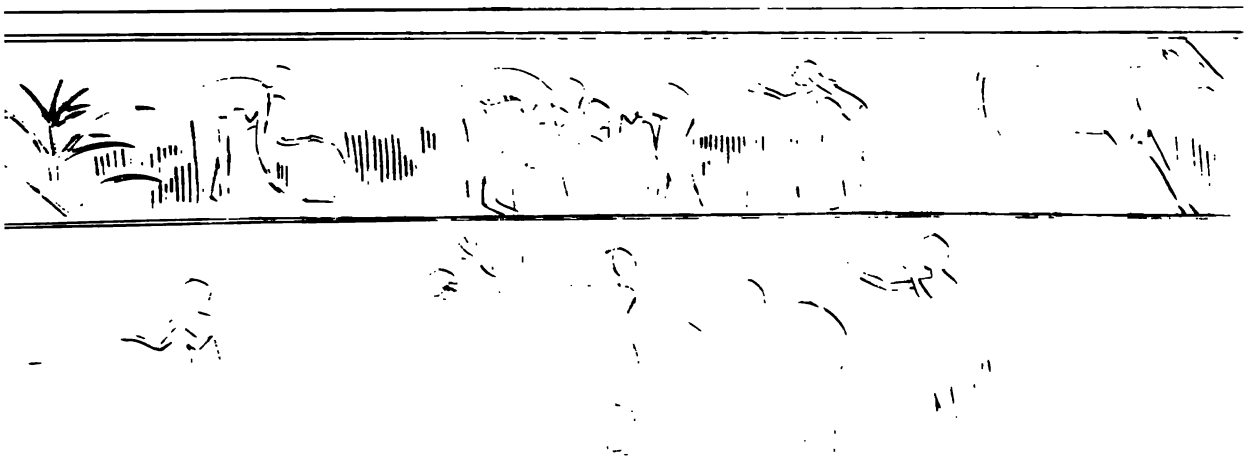

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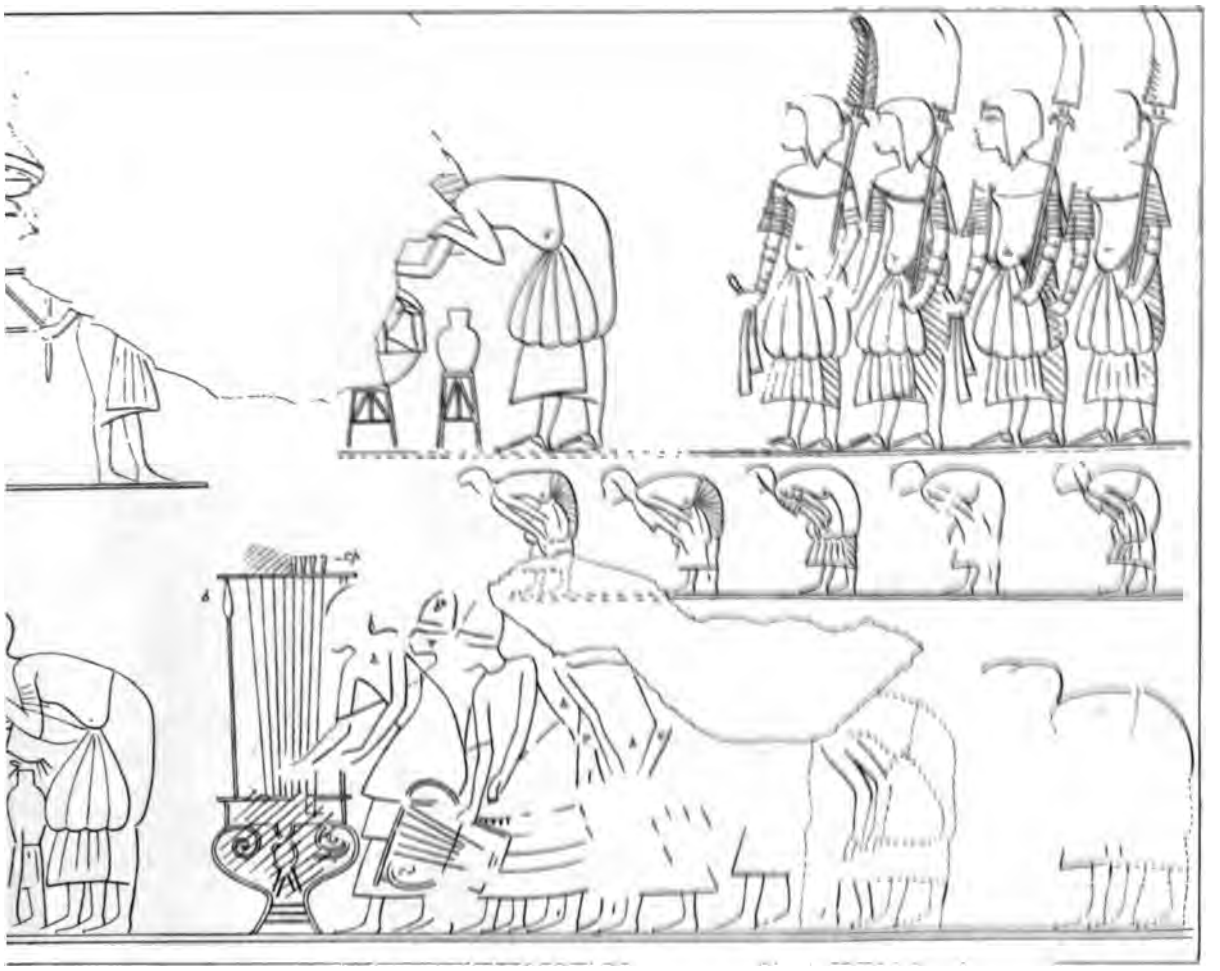

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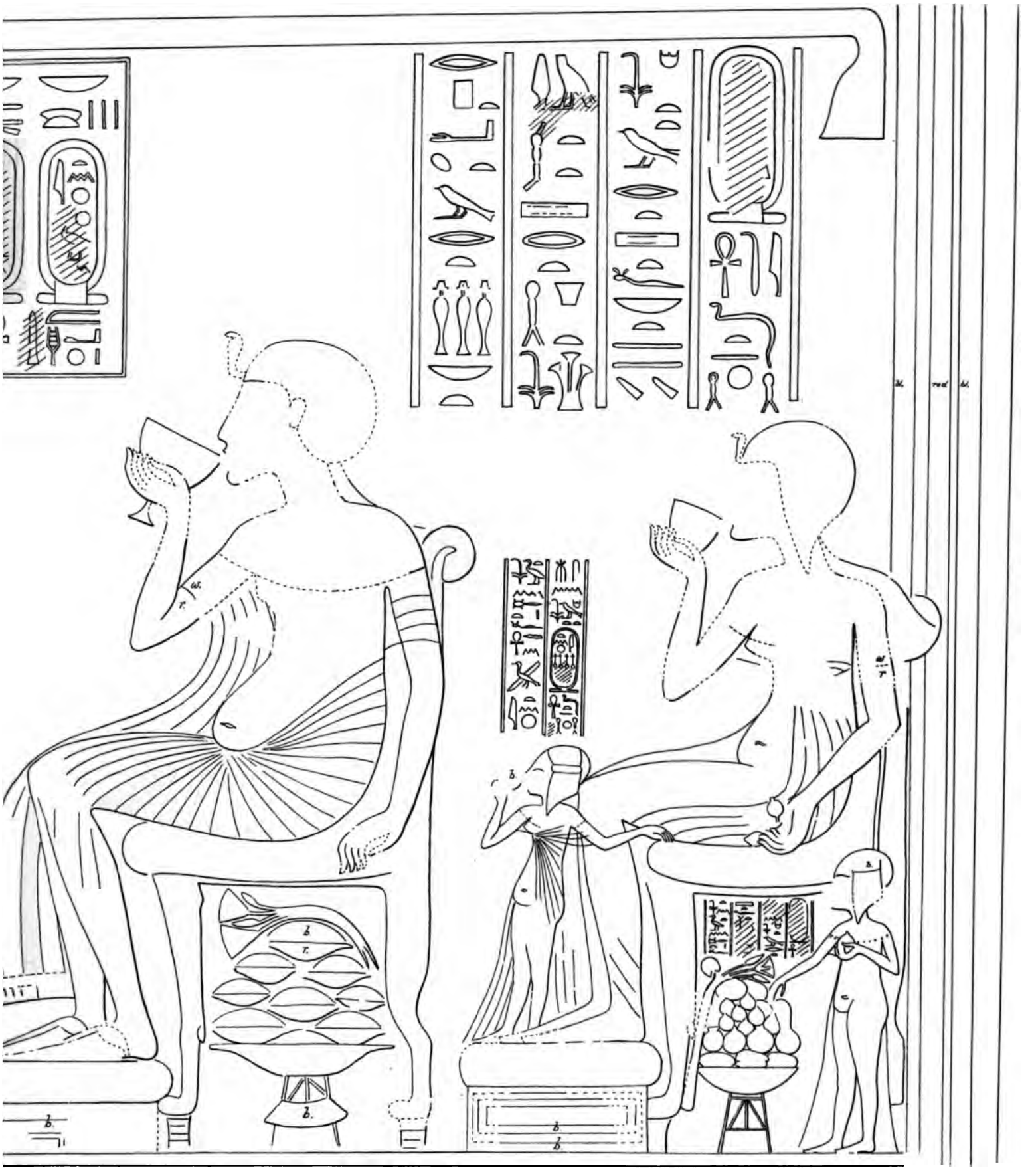

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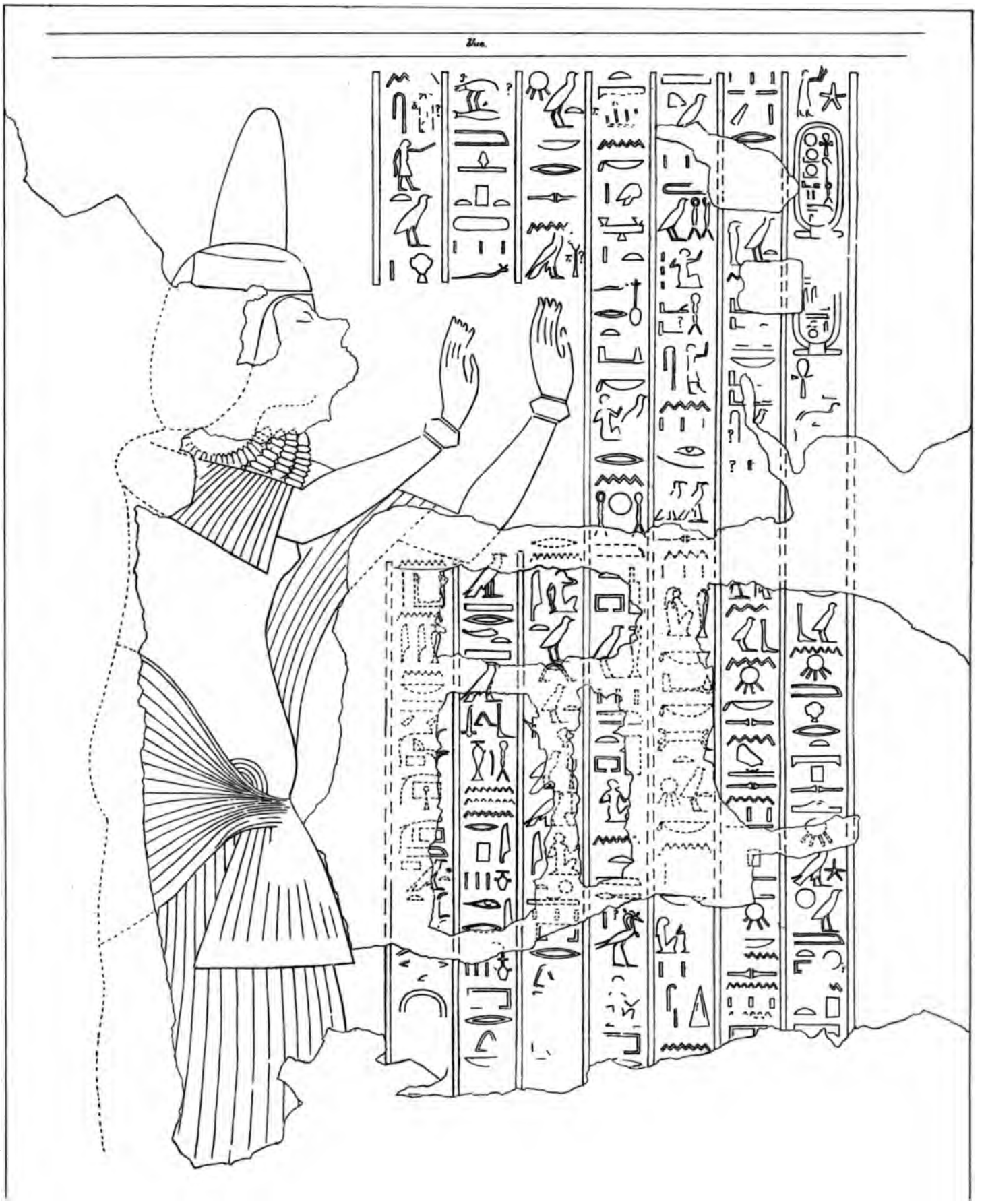

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3T WALL.

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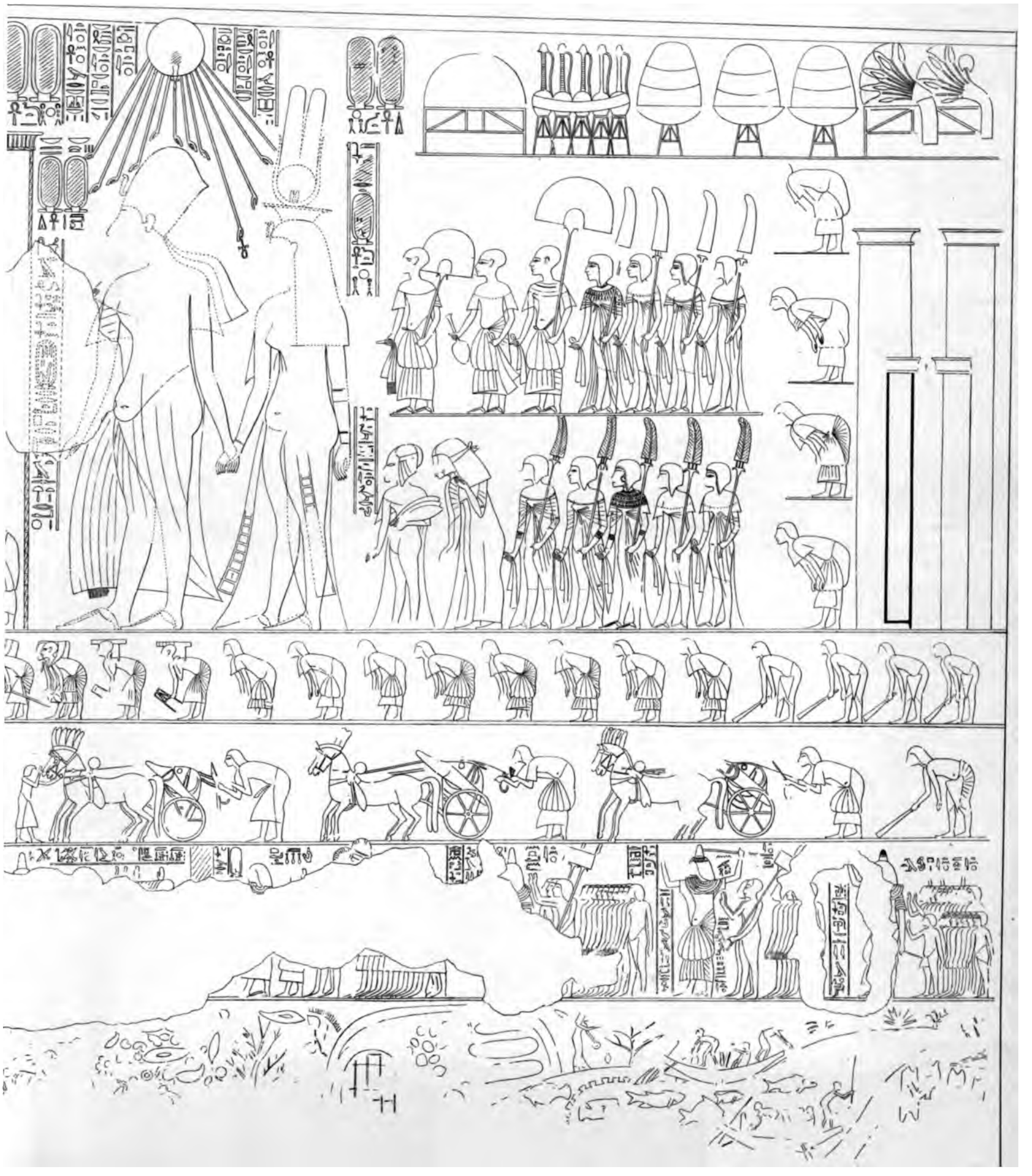
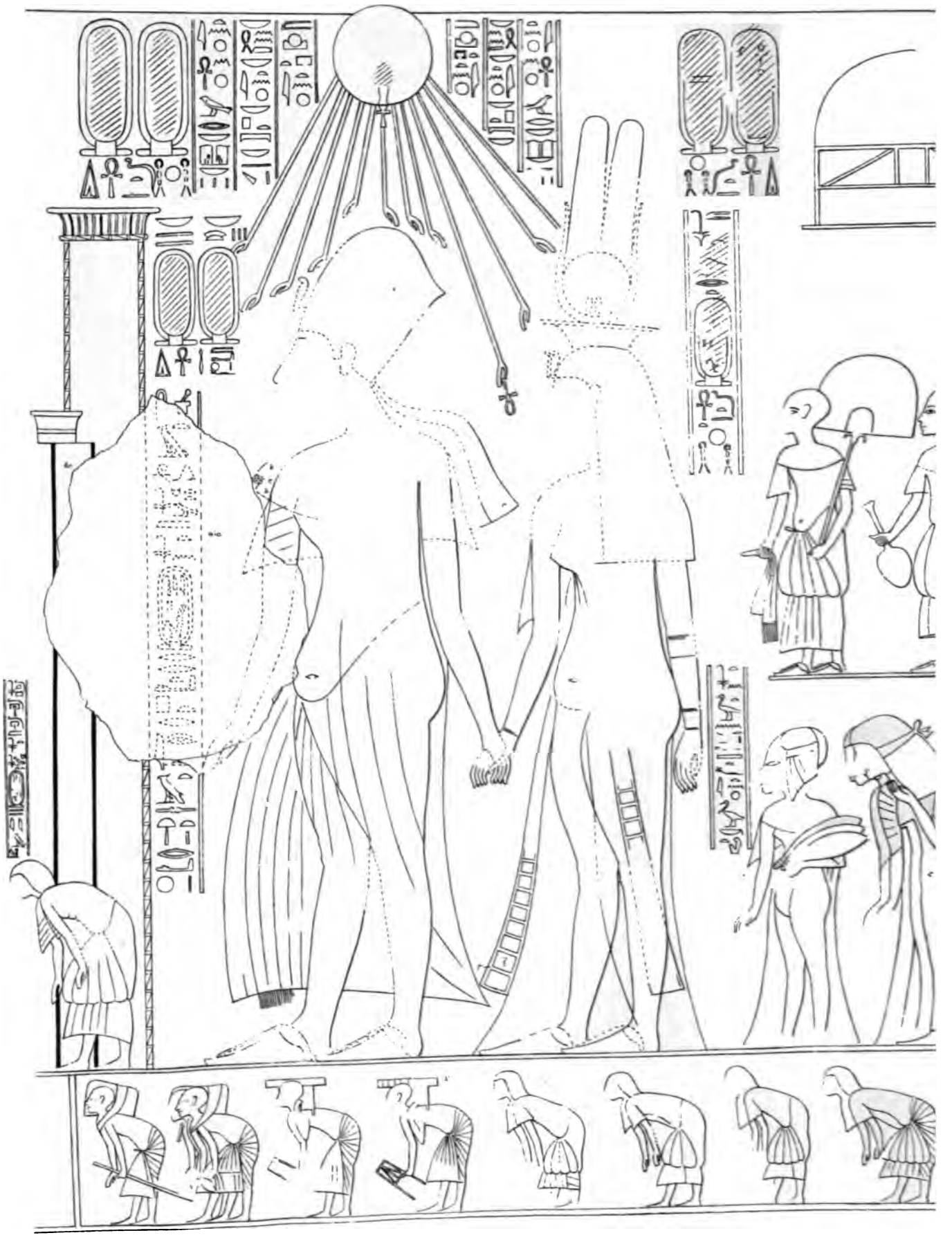
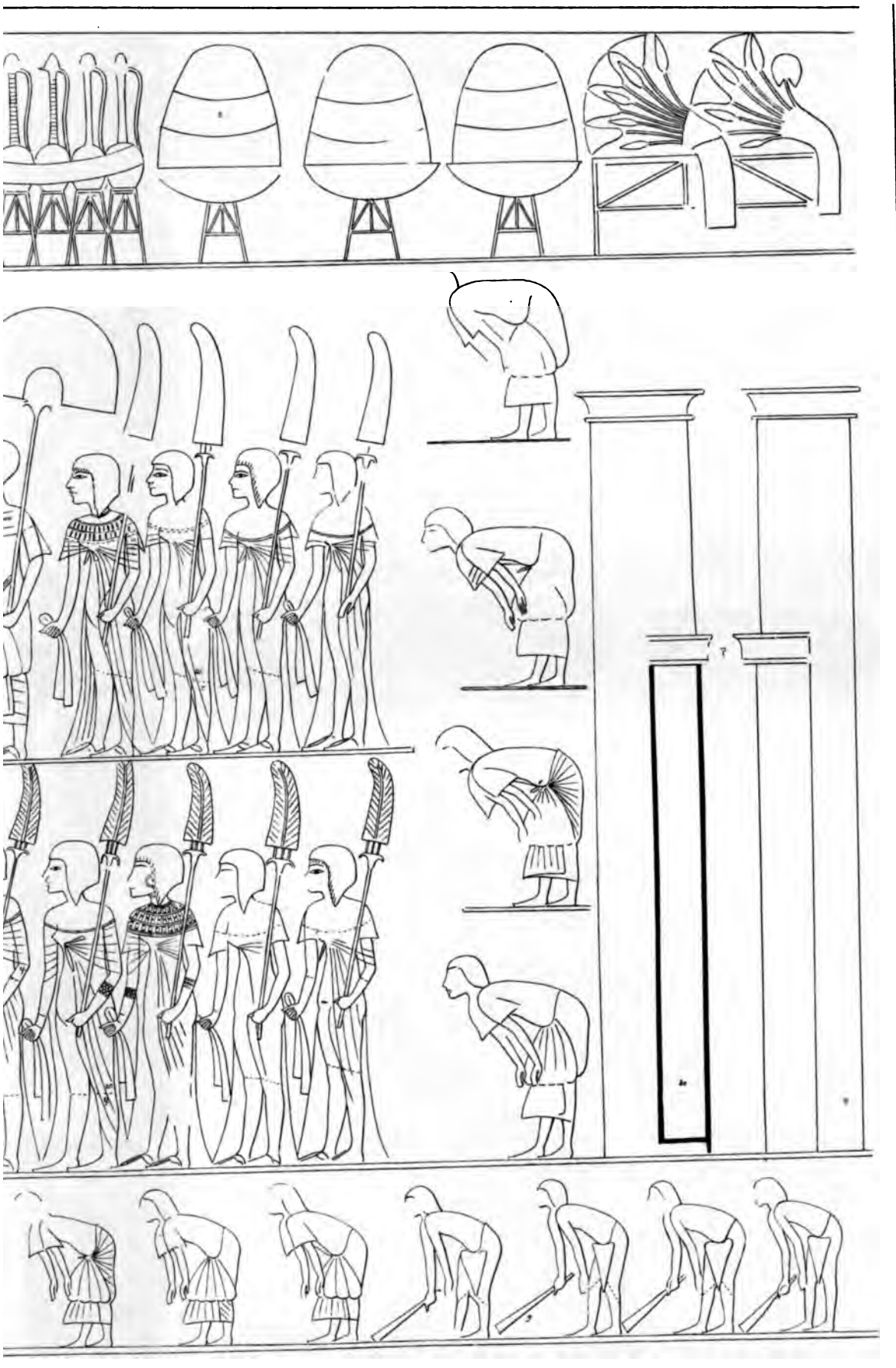
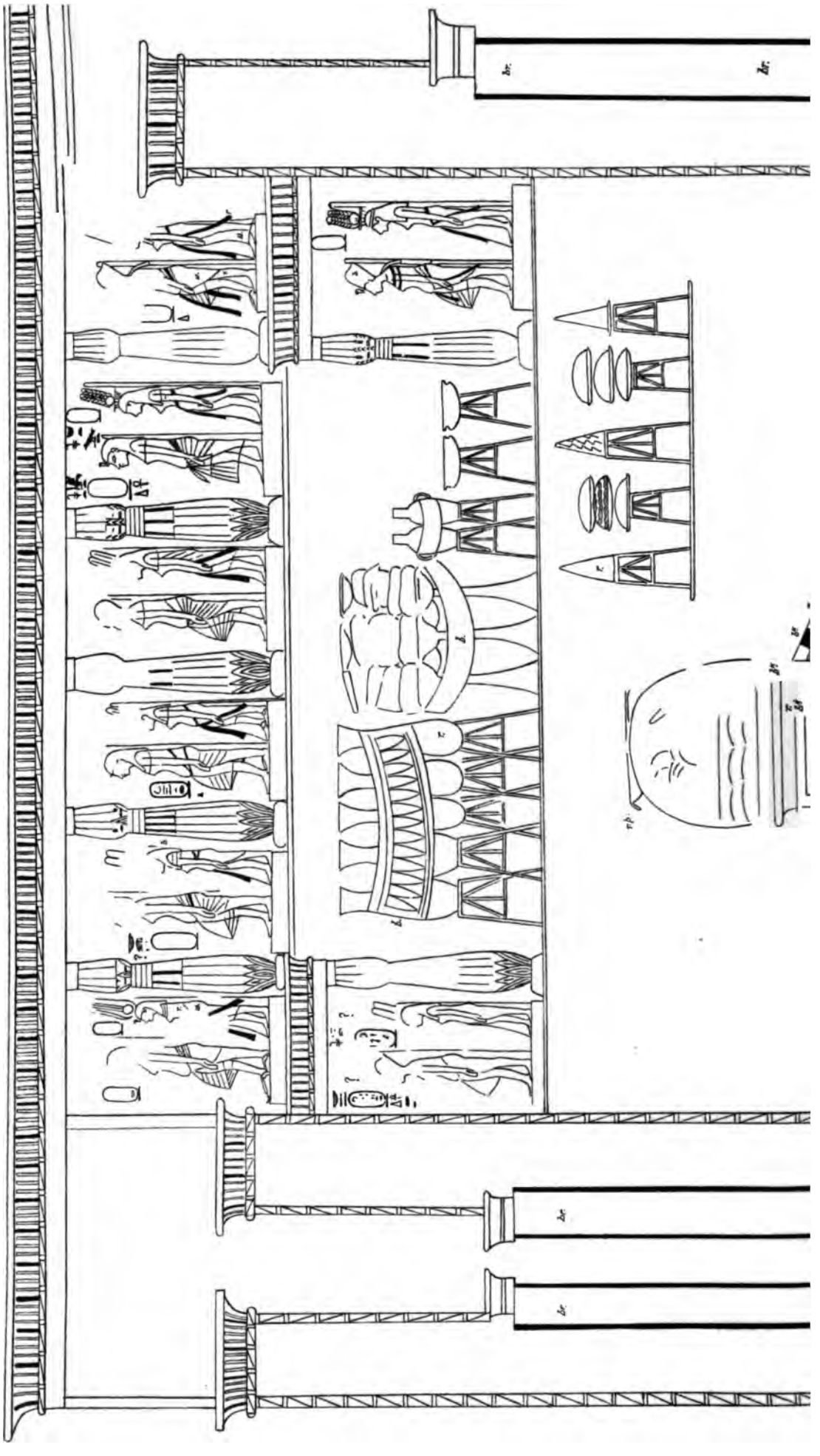


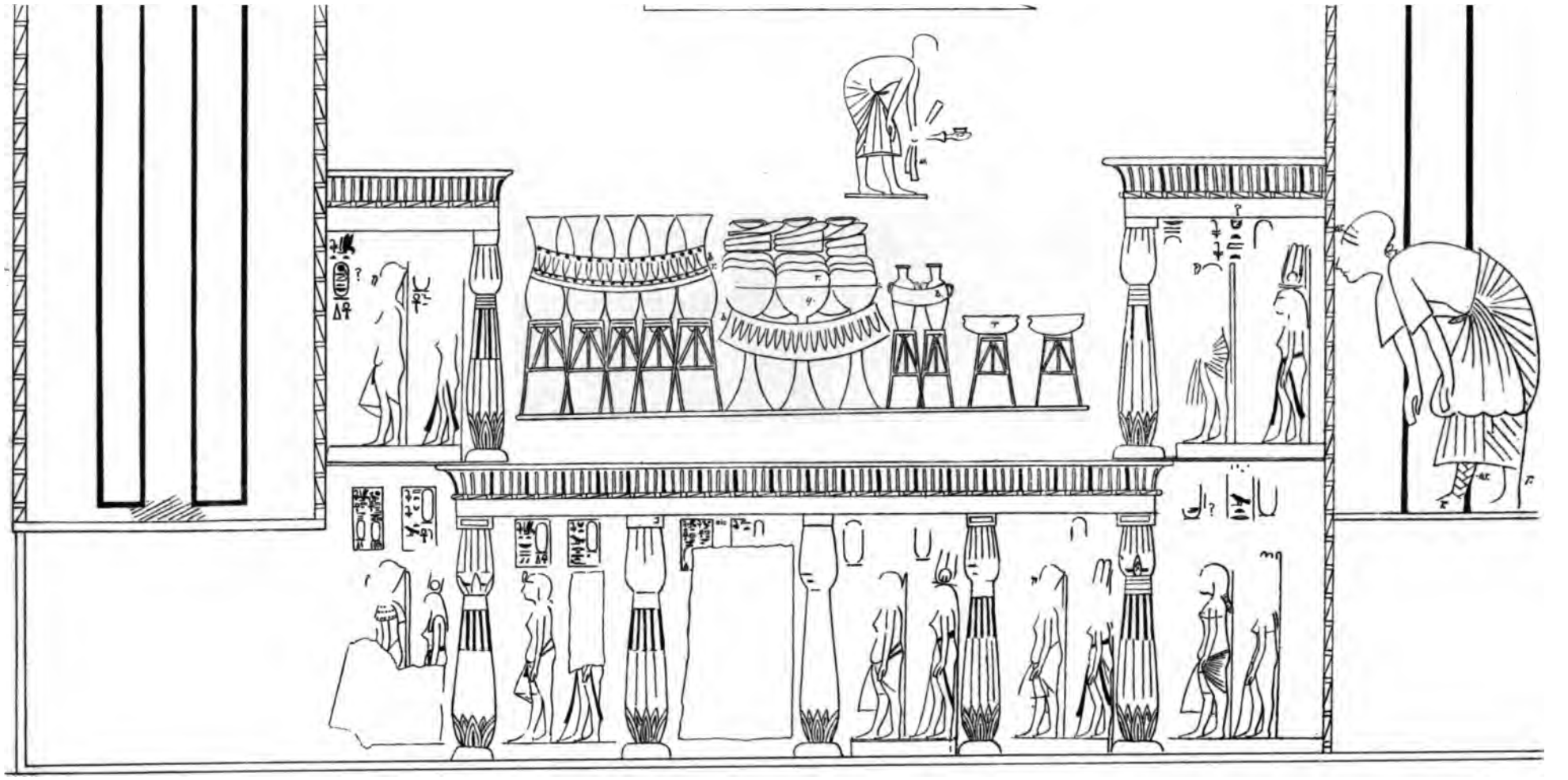


.L.



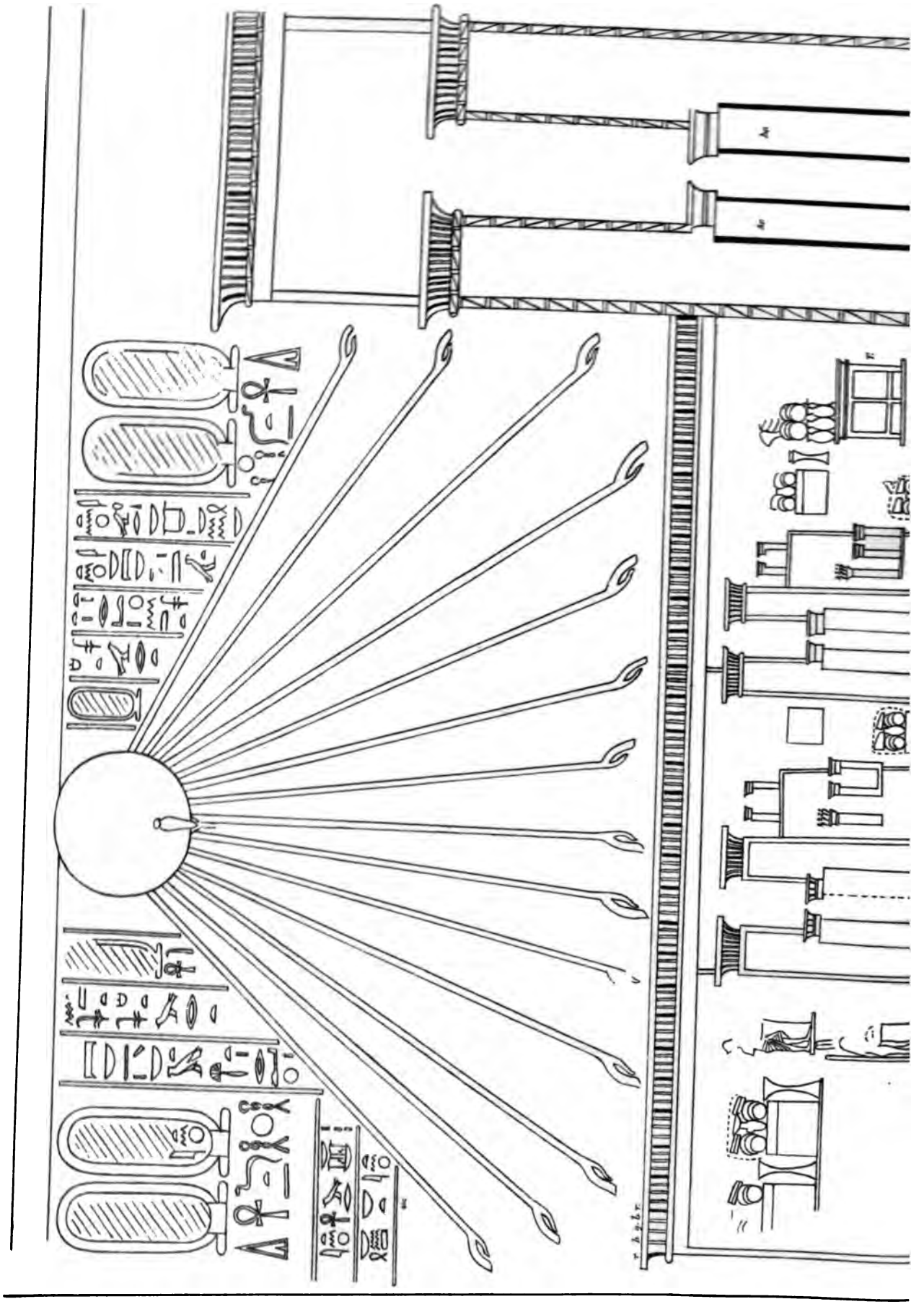
THIN THE TEMPLE.

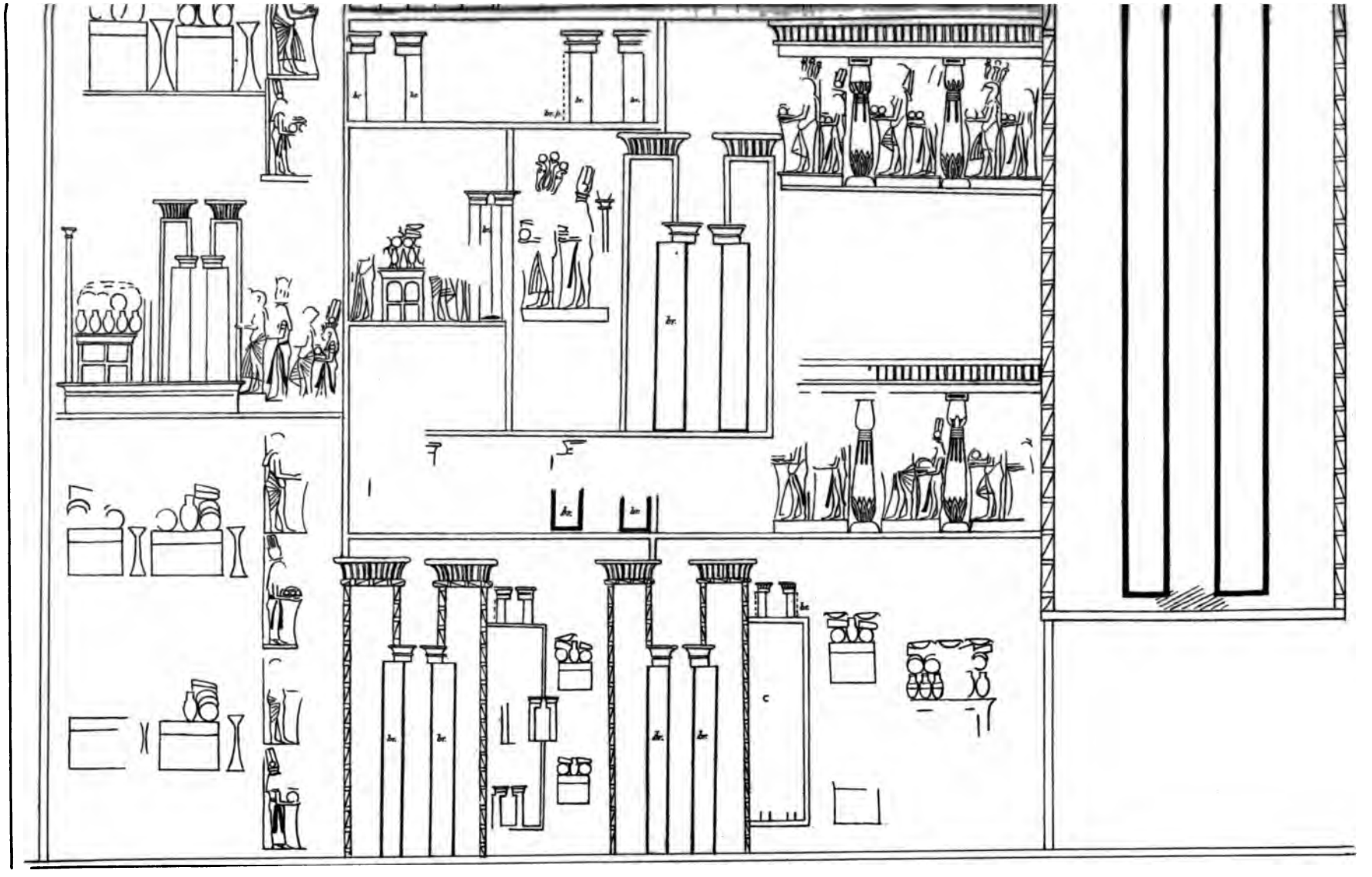




Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

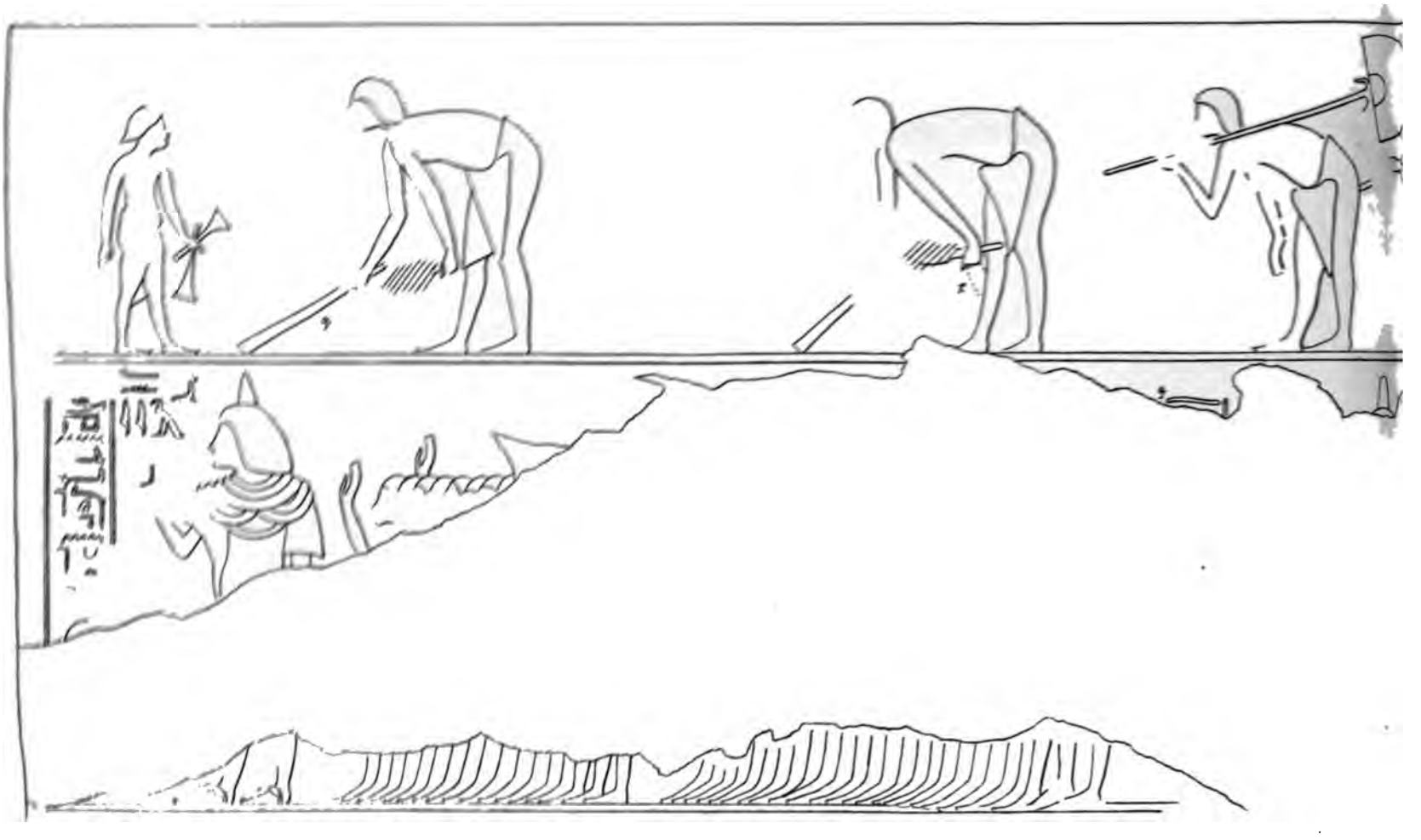
THE HALL OF STATUES.

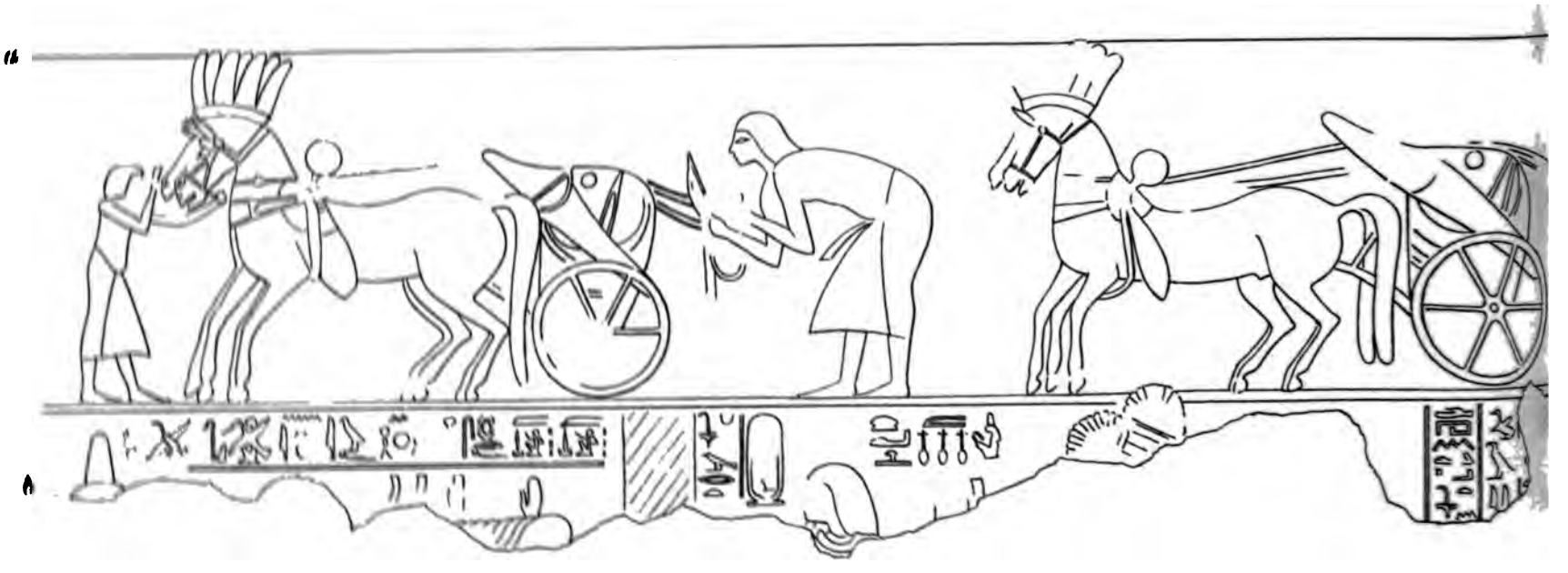


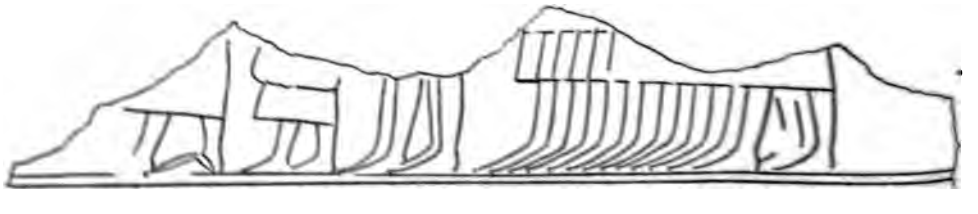


THE INNER SHRINE.

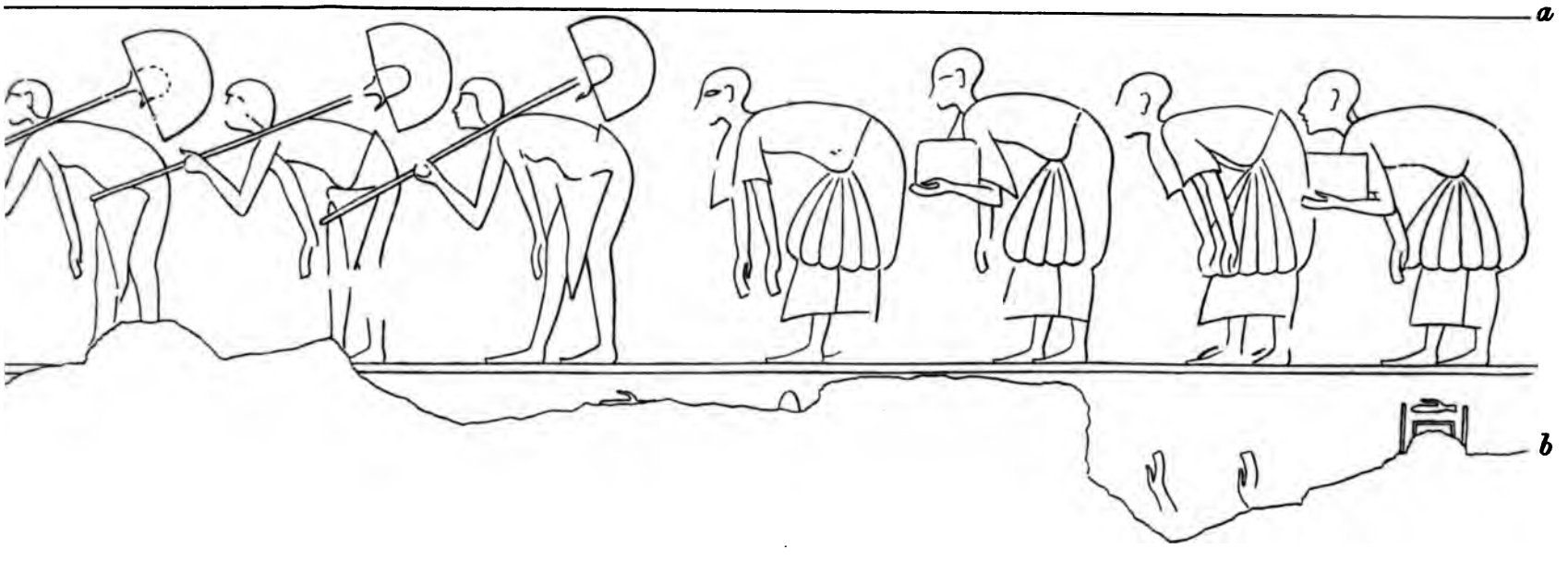
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$

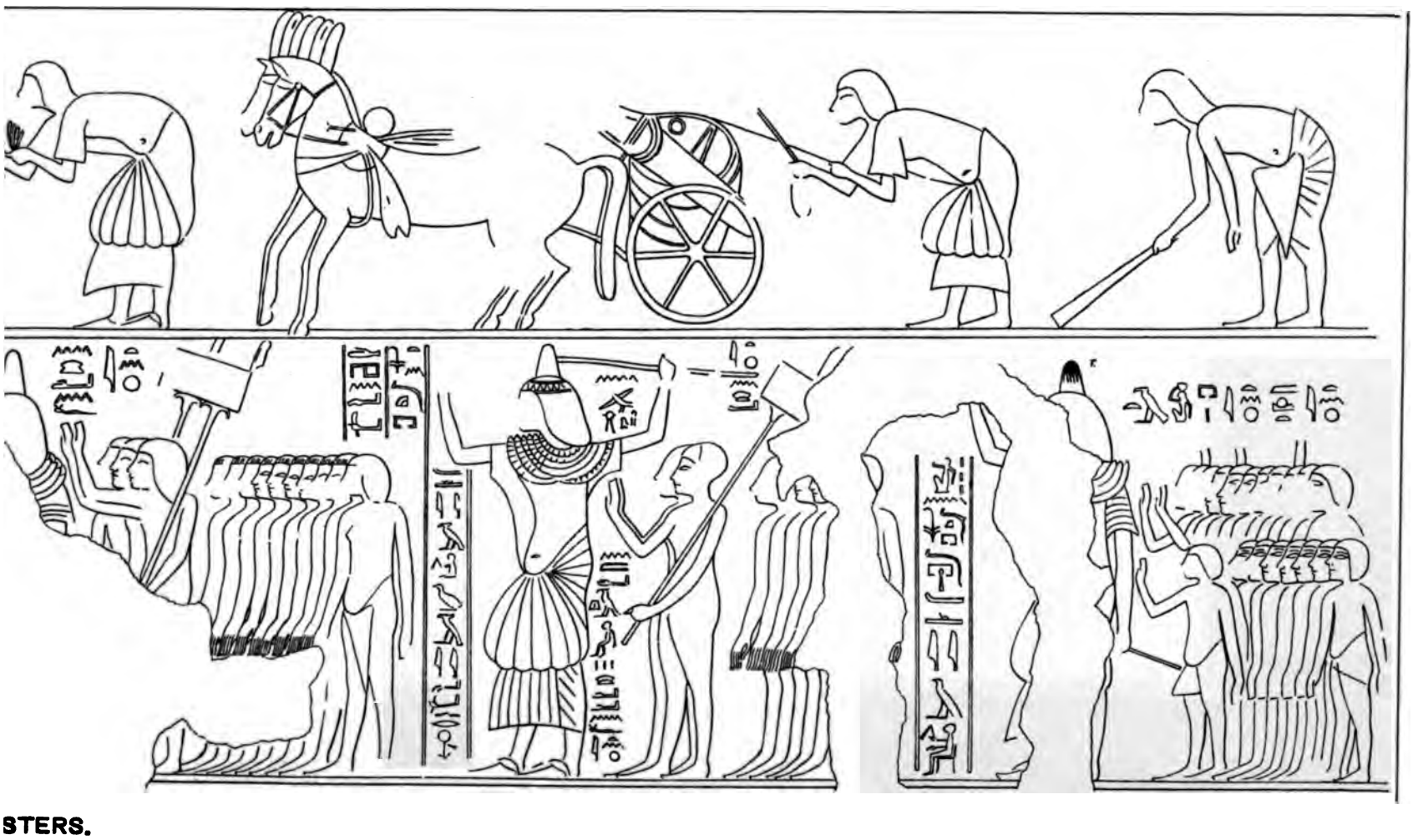


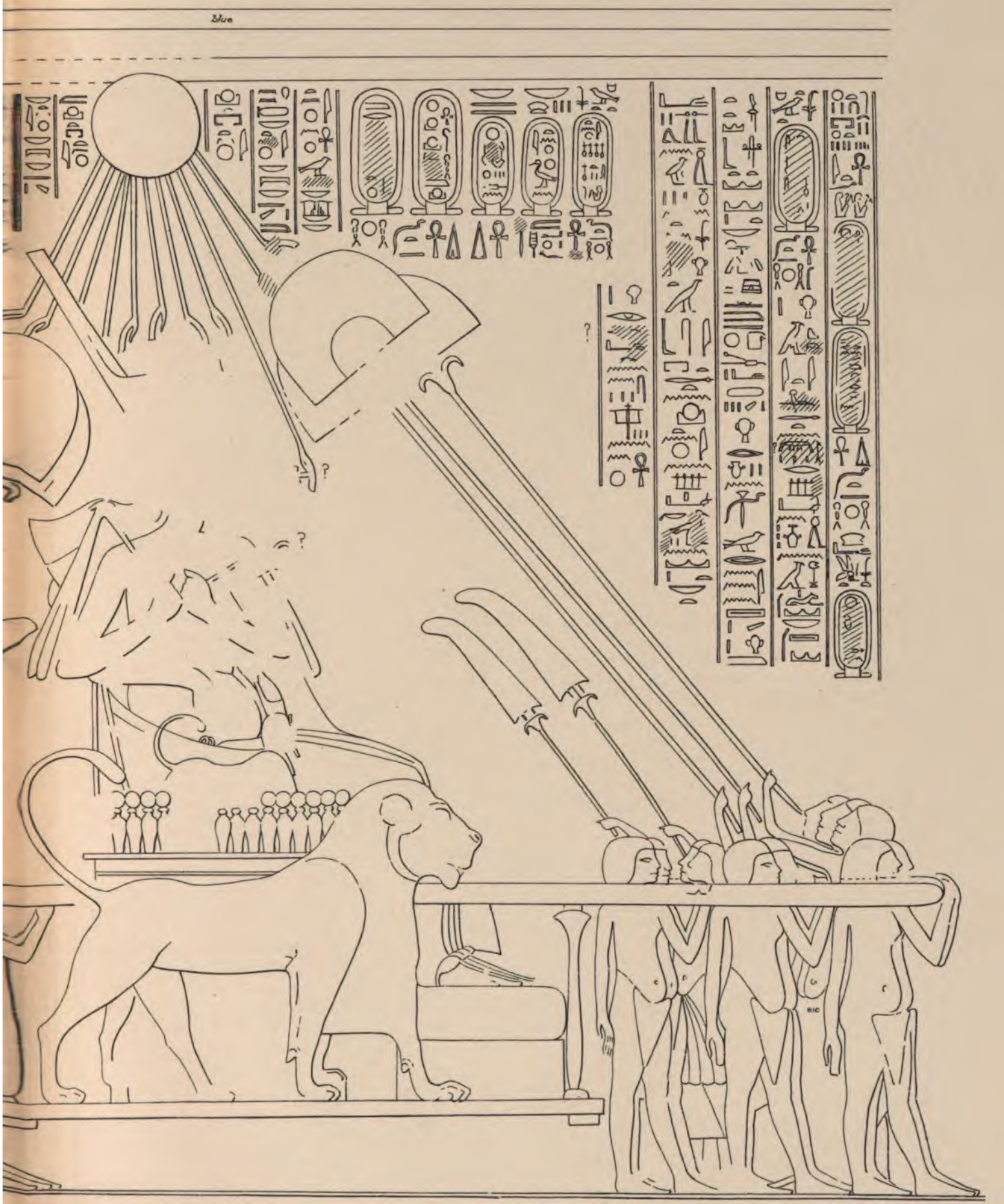




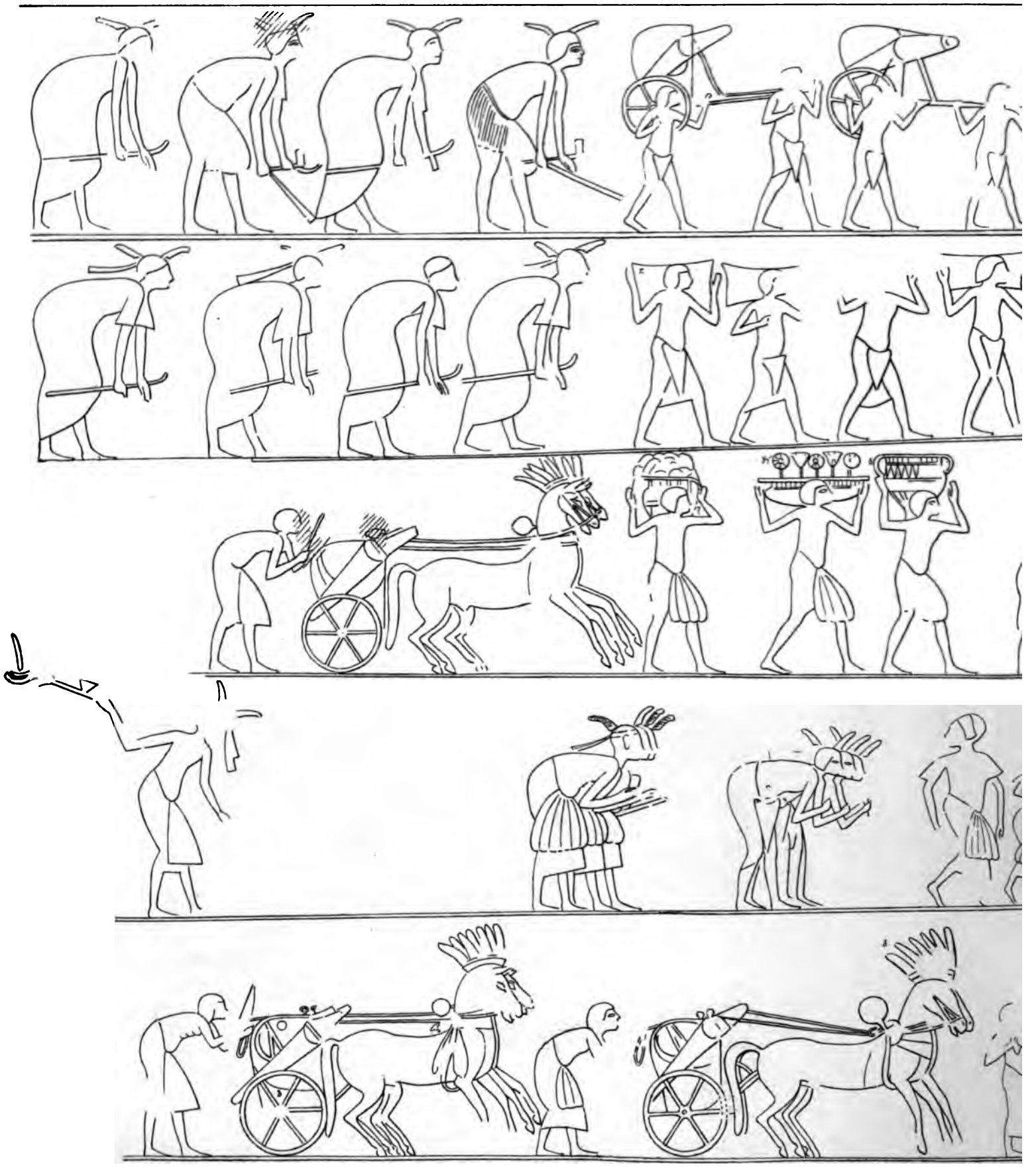
LOW


a
b



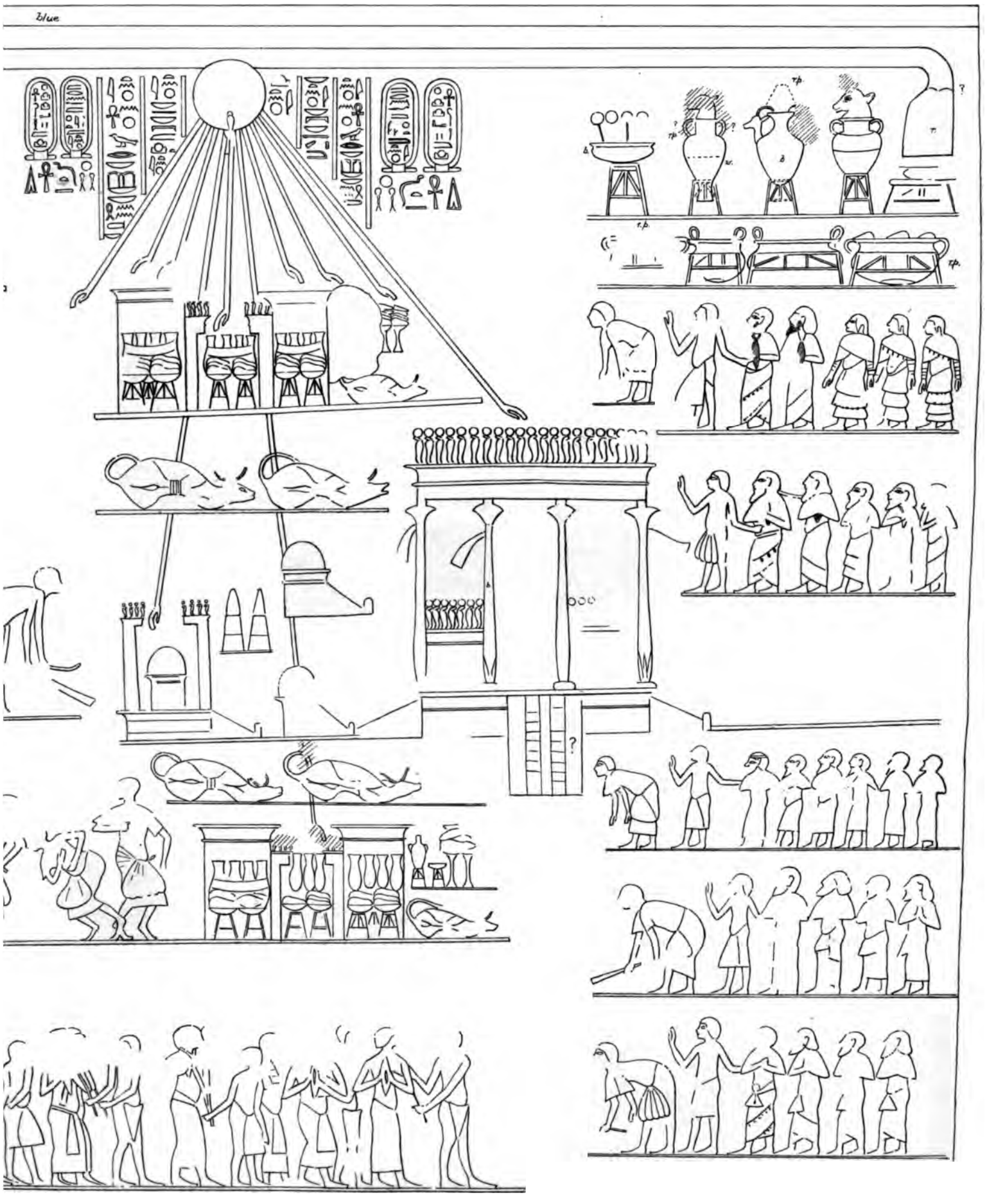


ED ON THE STATE PALANQUIN.

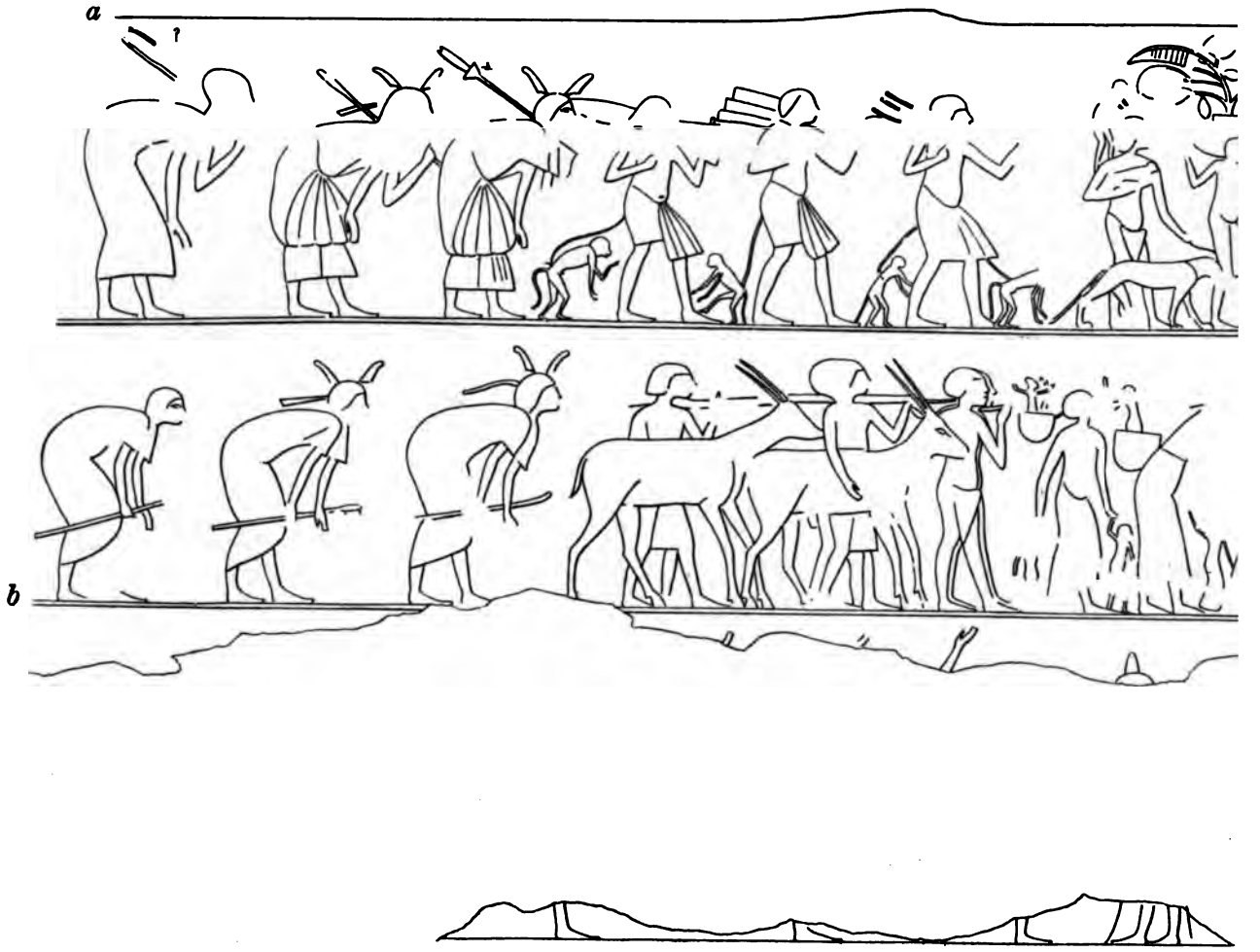


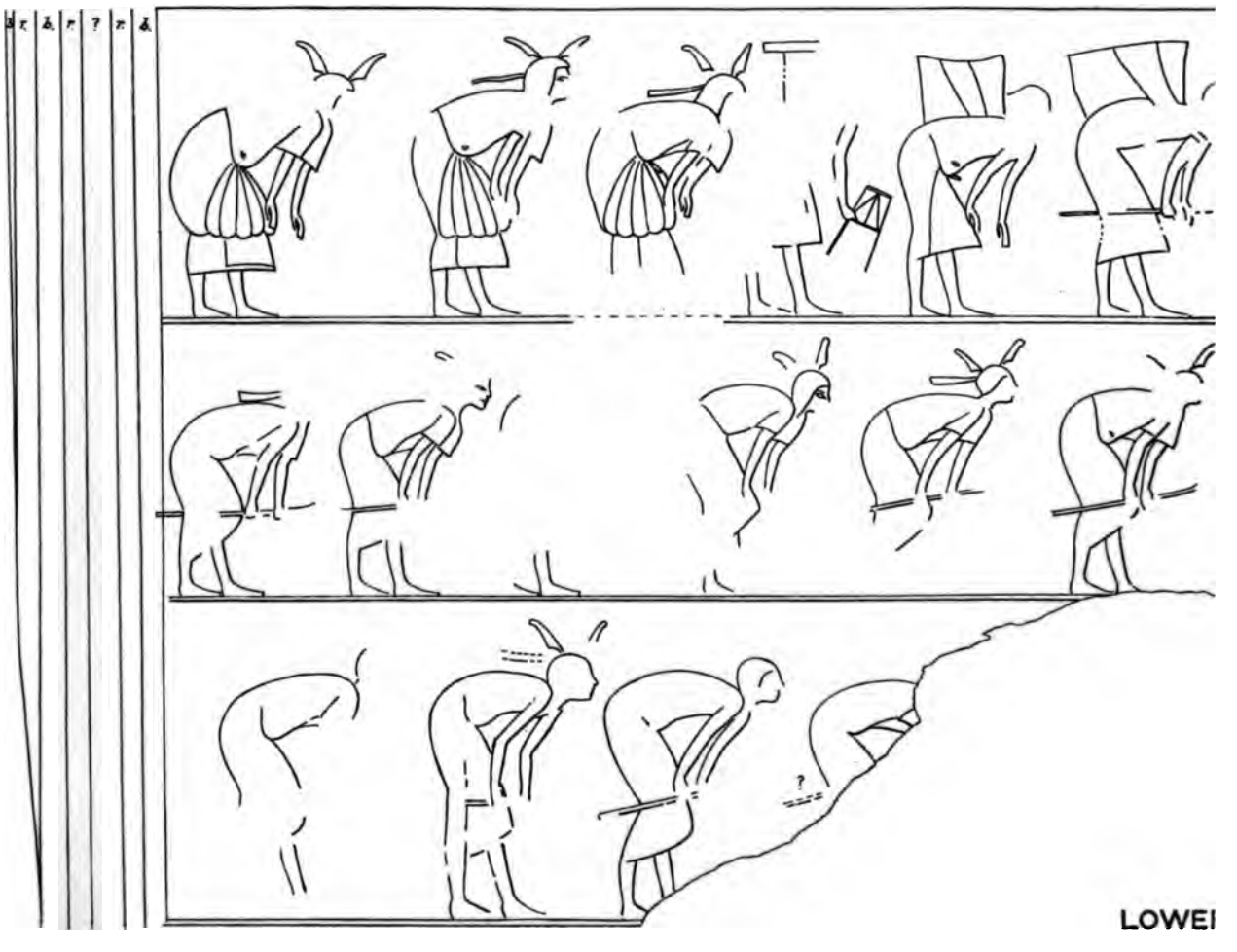
BRINGING THE TRI

Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

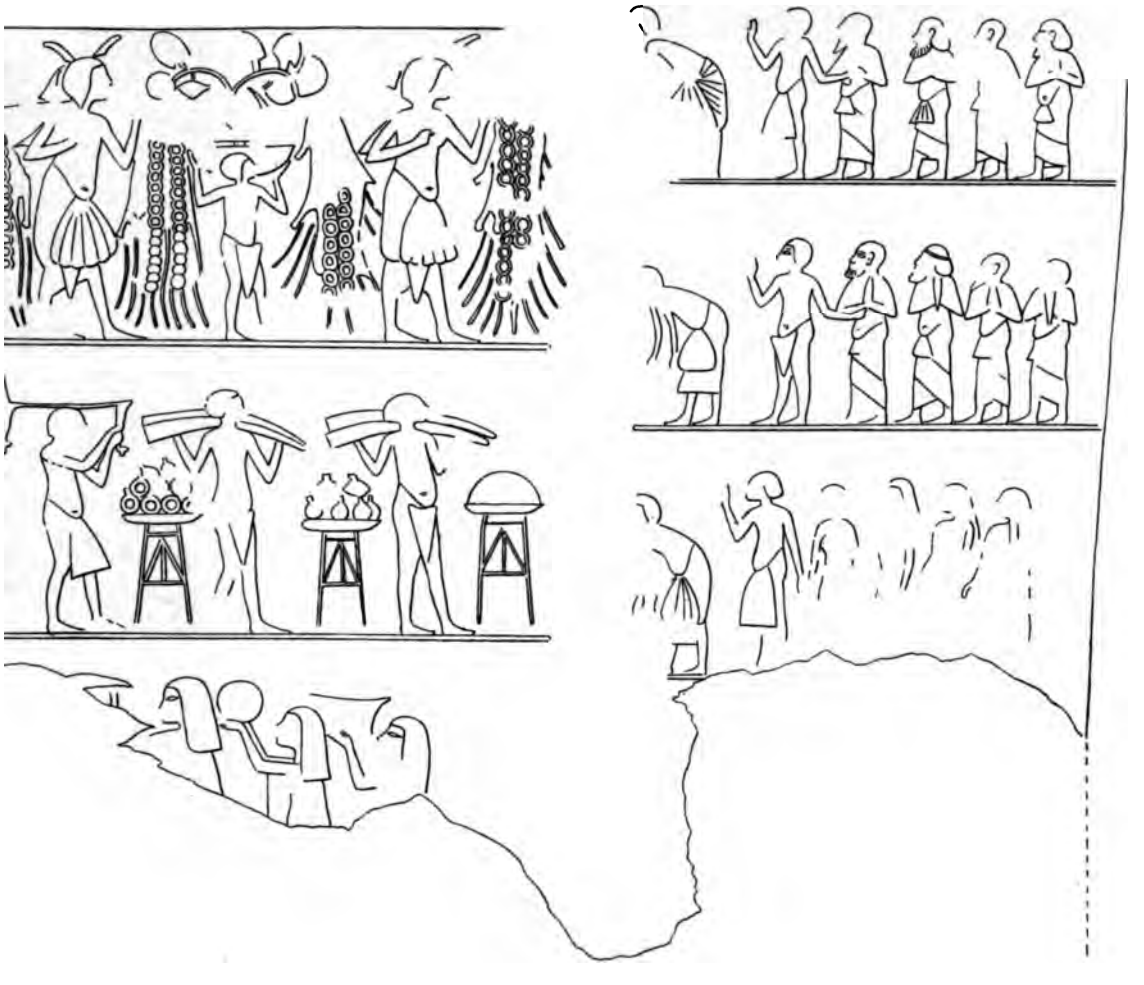


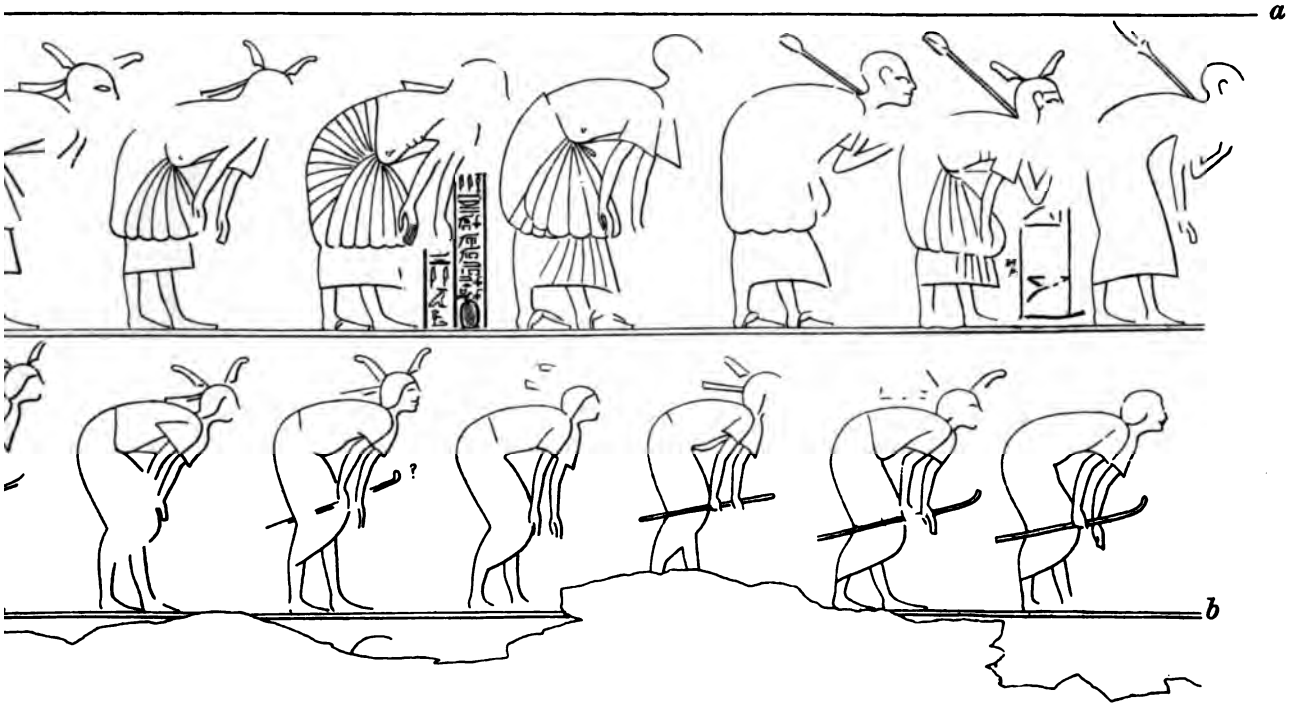
TE OF THE NATIONS.

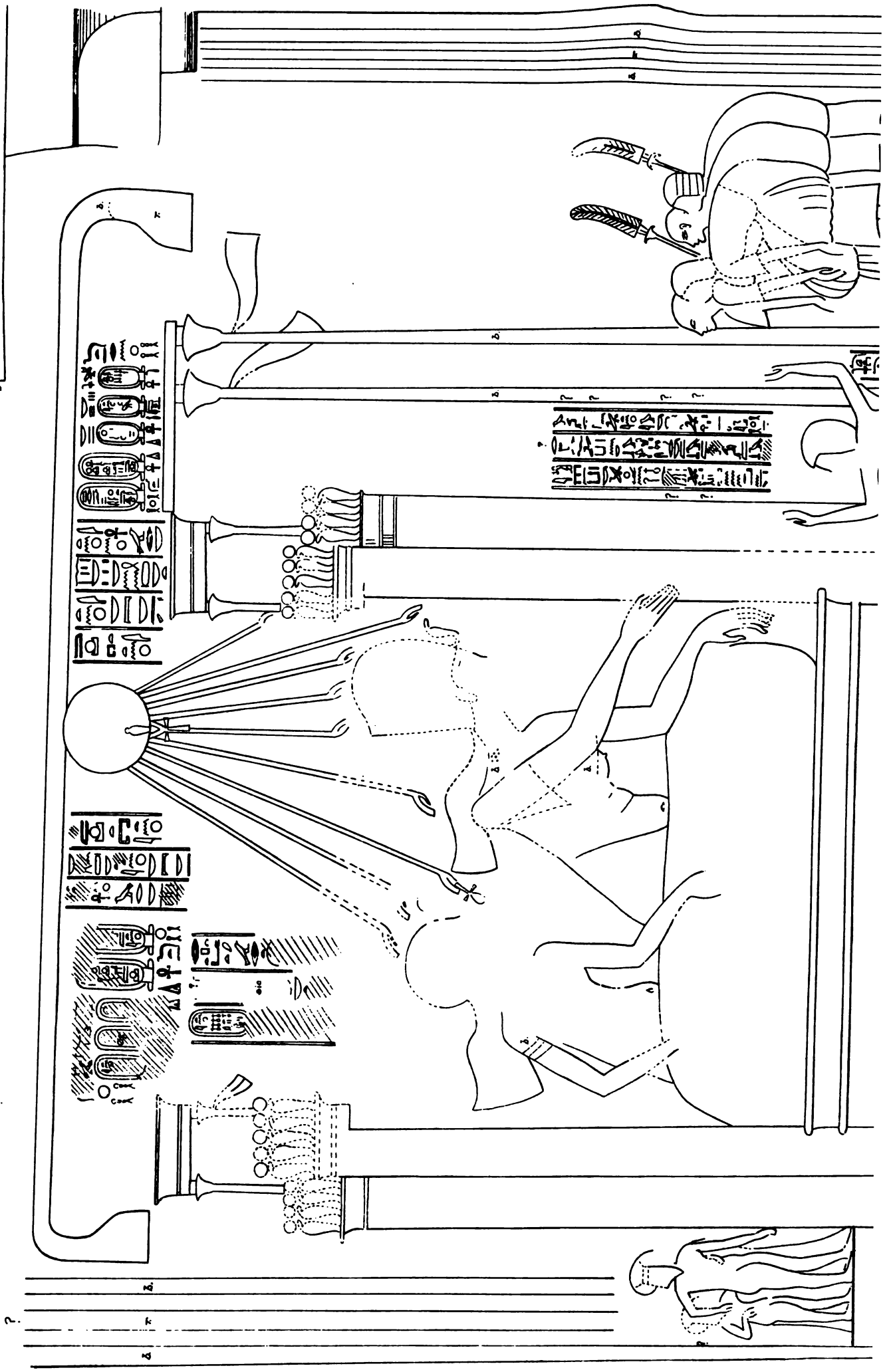


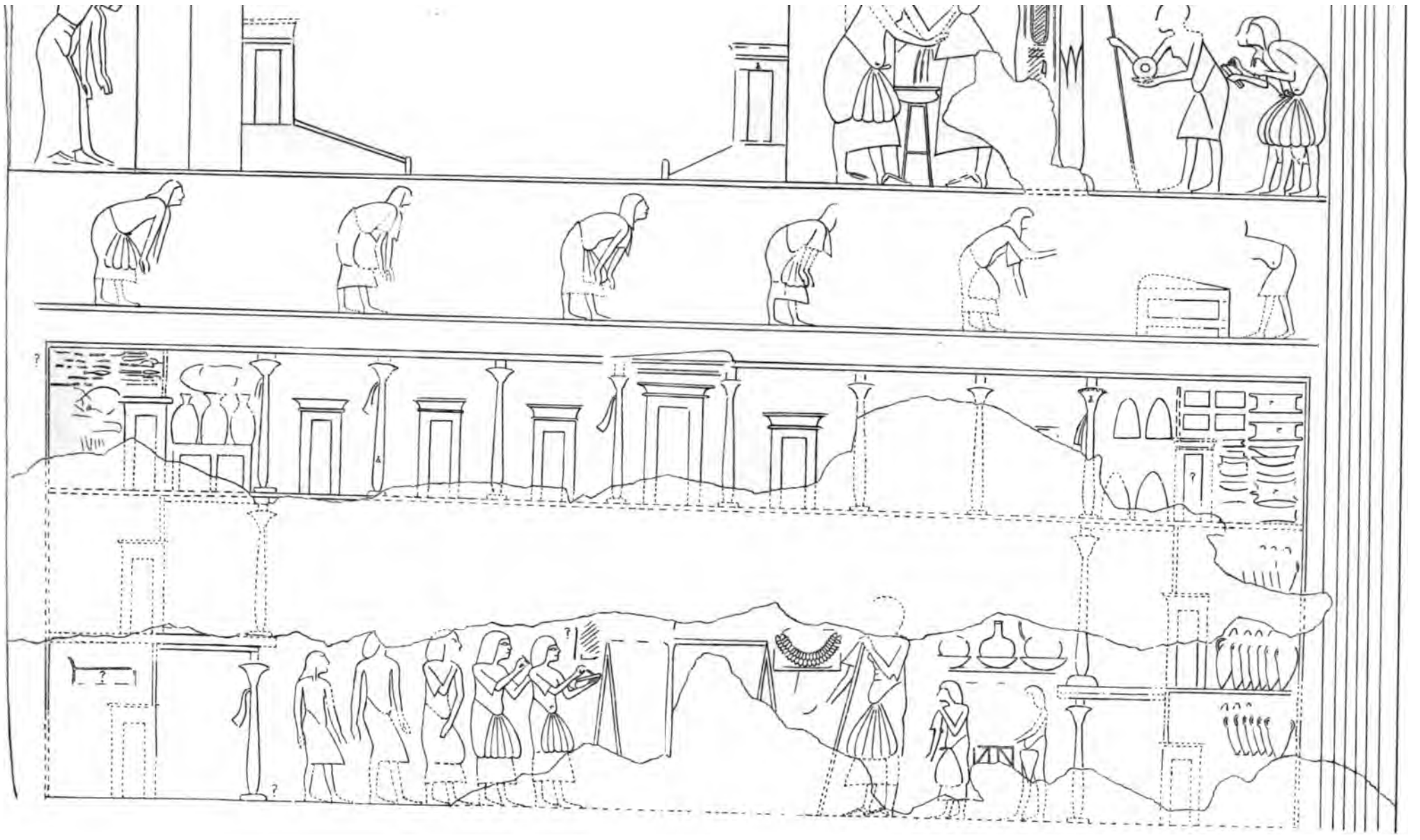


Scale ½



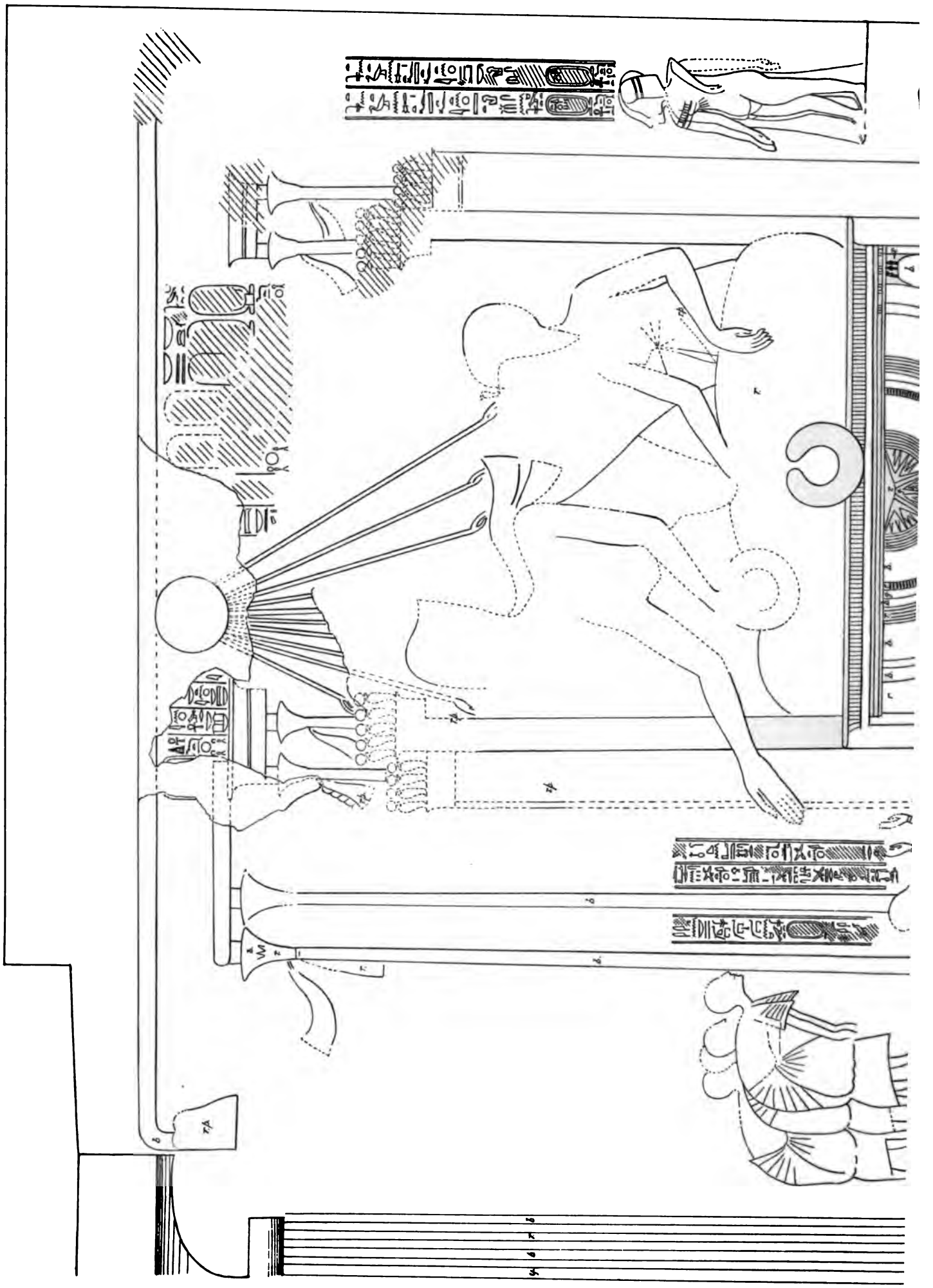

a
b

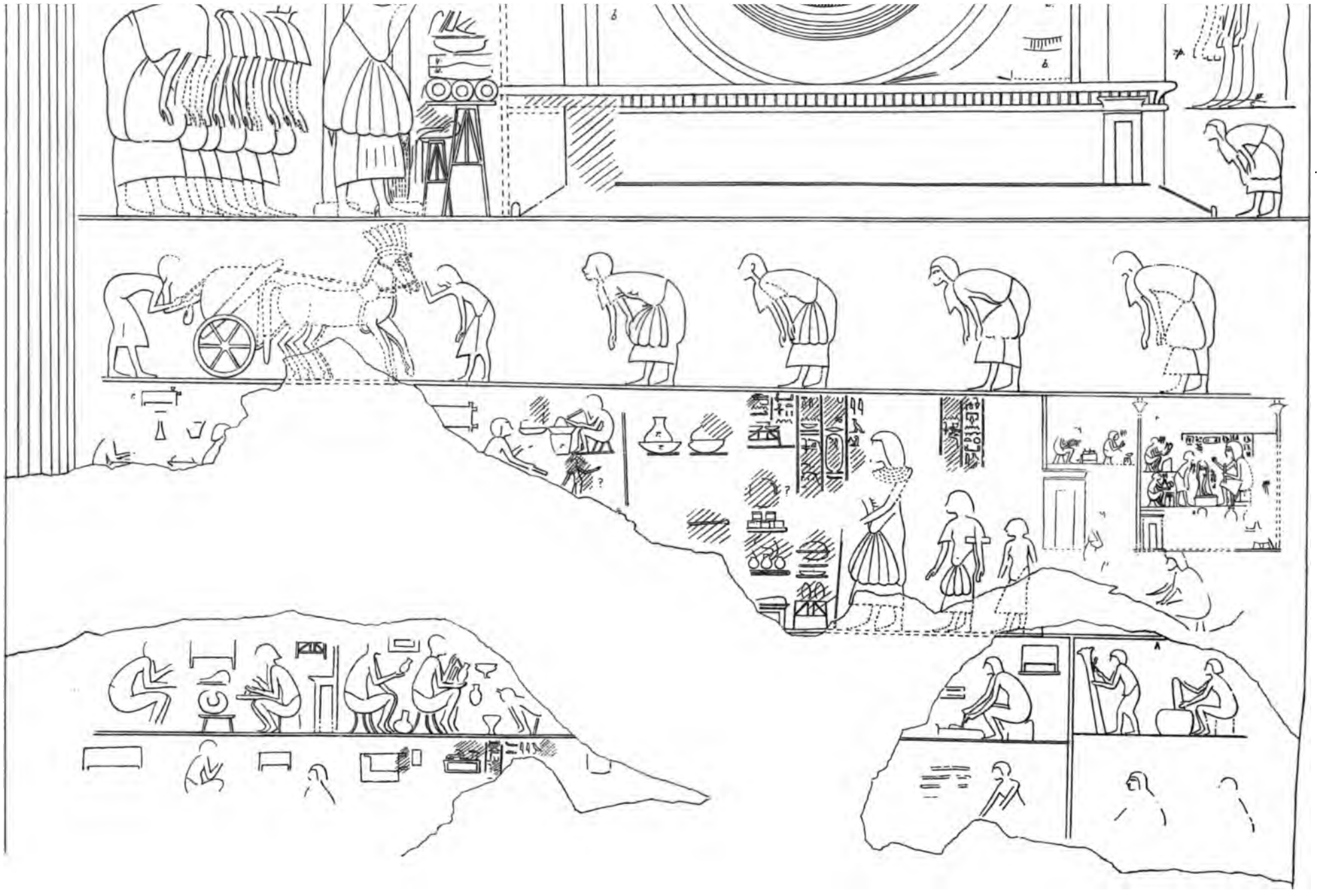




HUYA REWARDED BY THE KING.

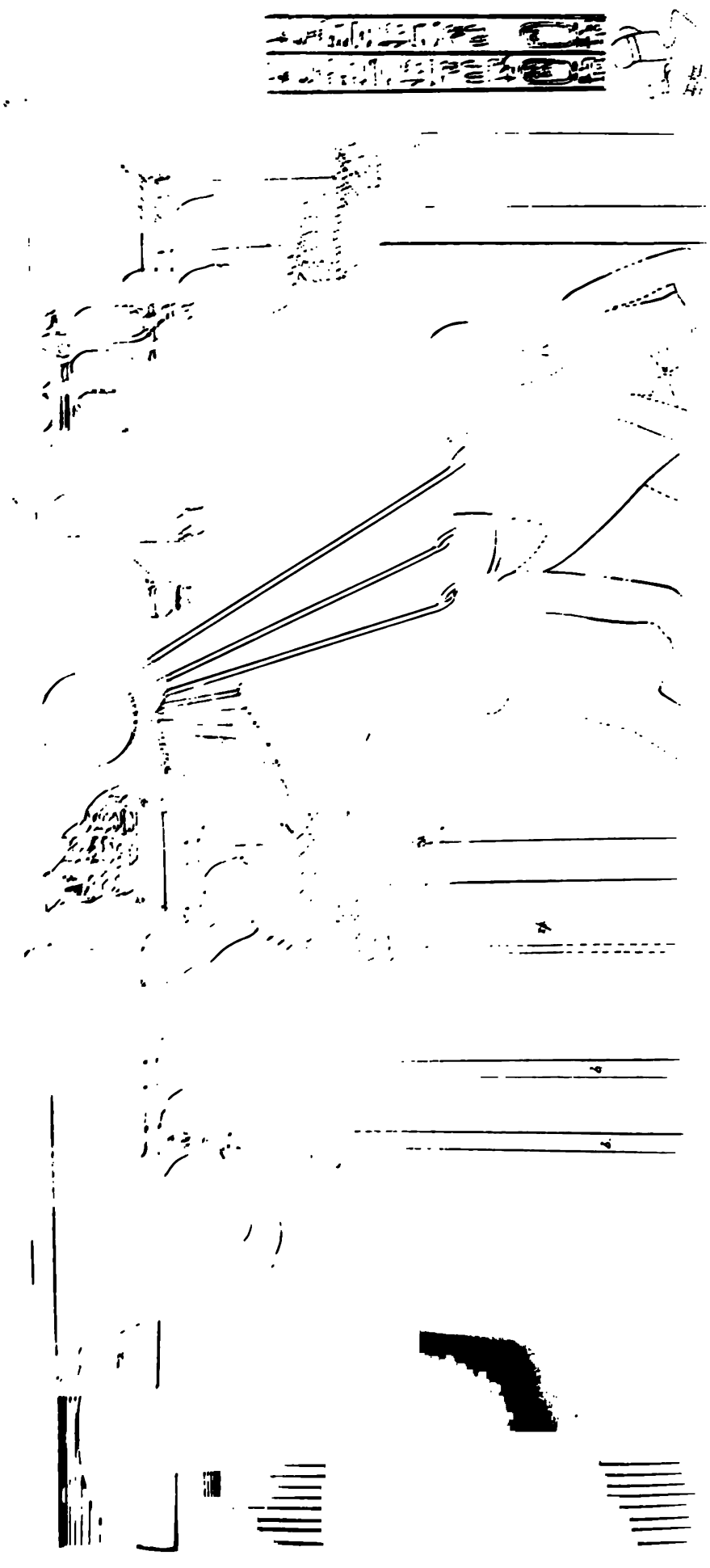
Scale $\frac{1}{9}$

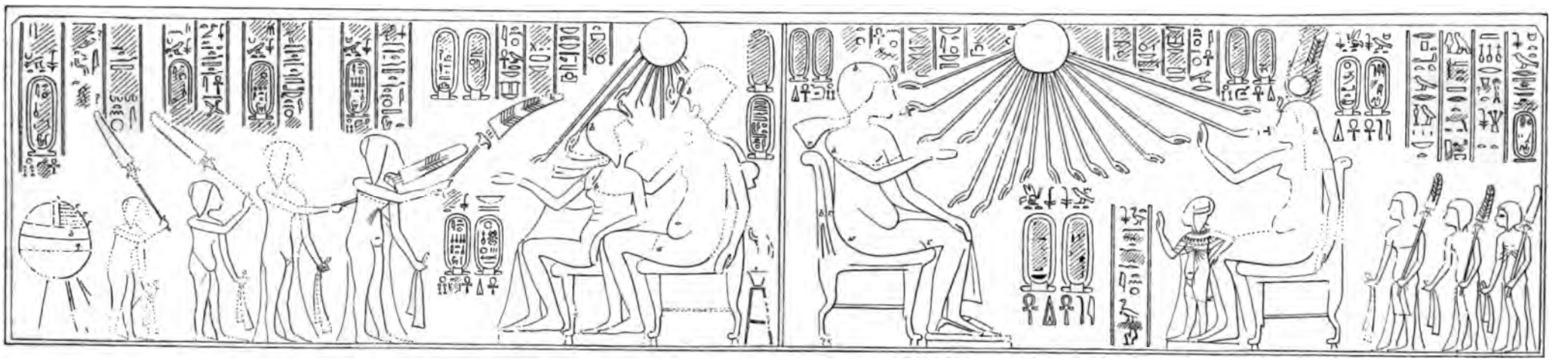




HUYA REWARDED BY THE KING.

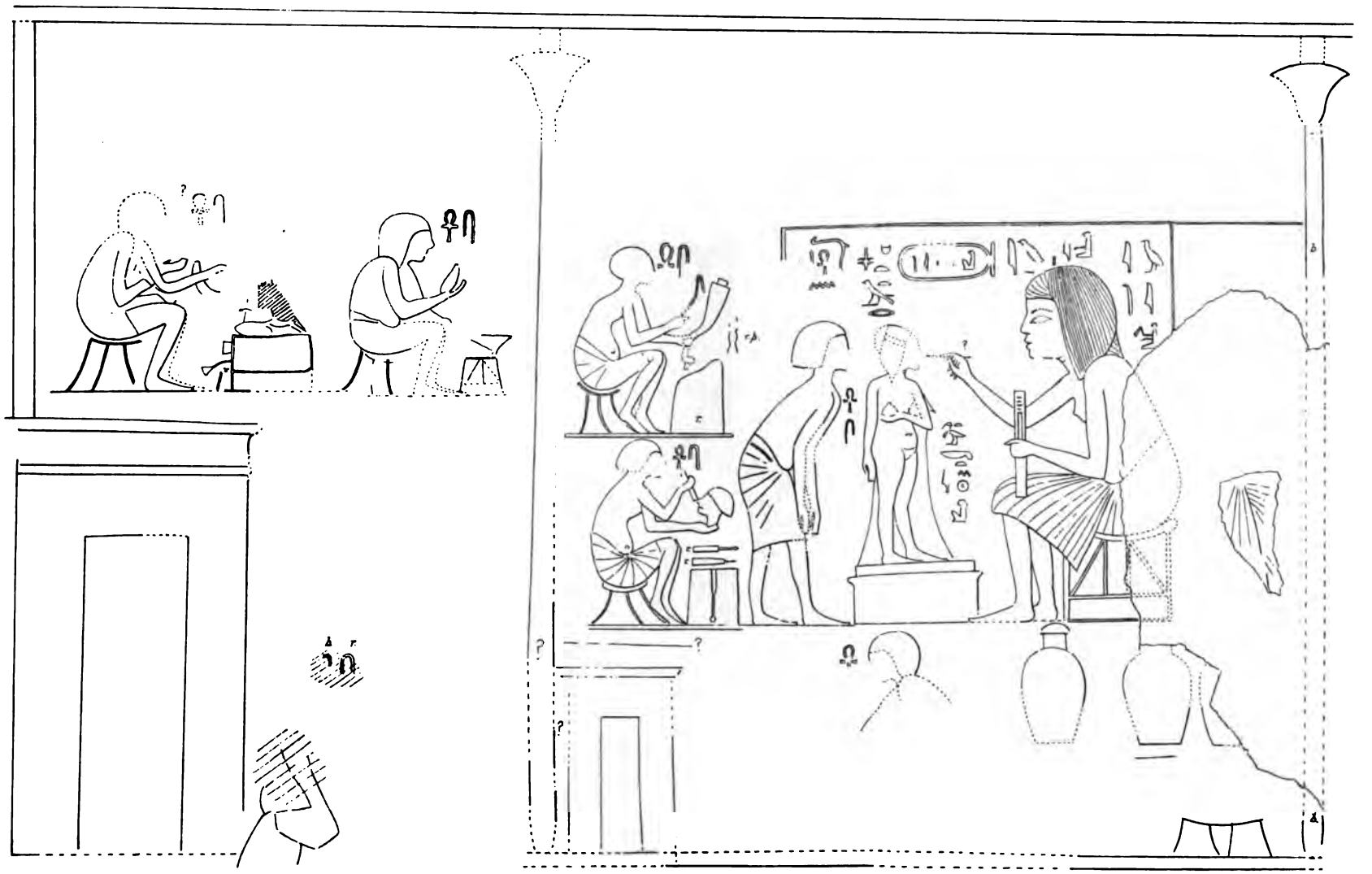
Scale $\frac{1}{8}$





Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

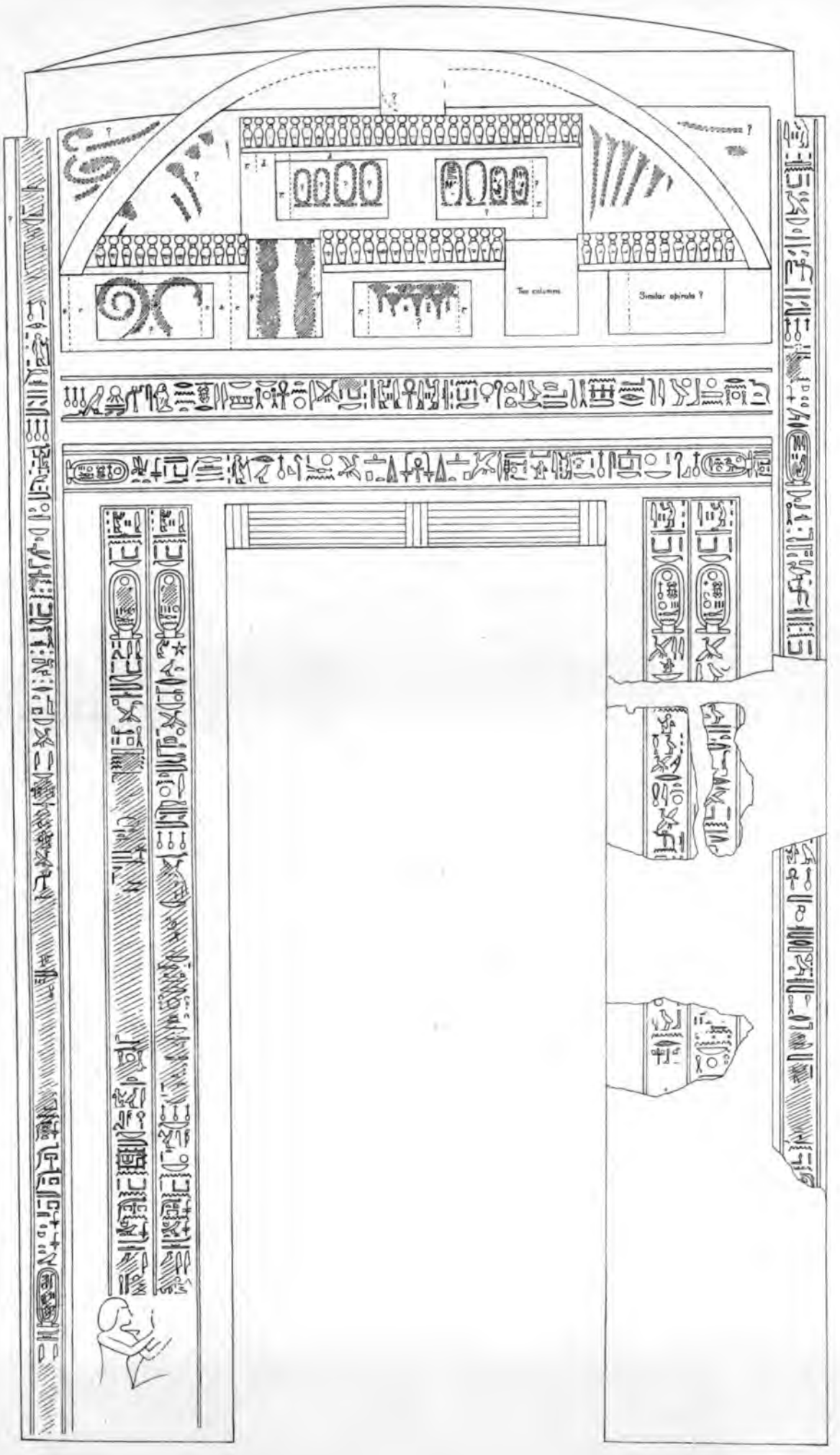
LINTEL—AMENHETEP III, AKHENATEN, AND THEIR FAMILIES.



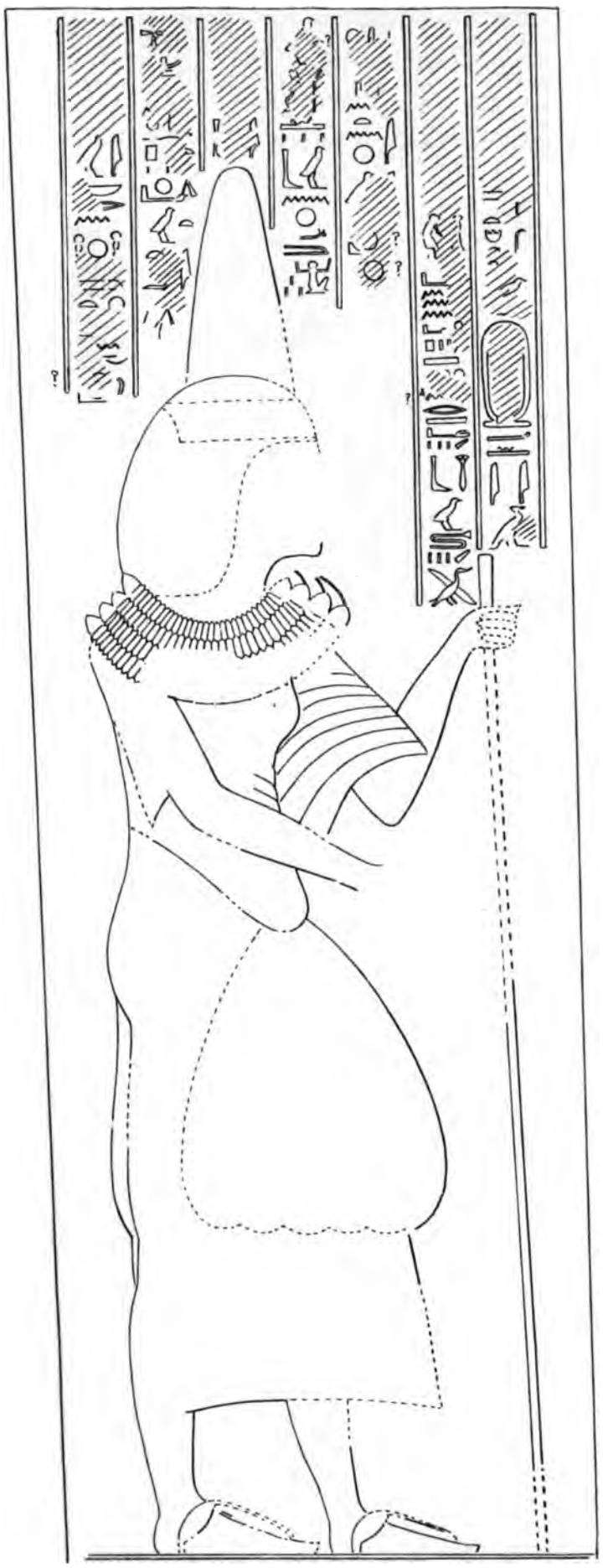
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

THE STUDIO OF THE CHIEF SCULPTOR, AUTA.

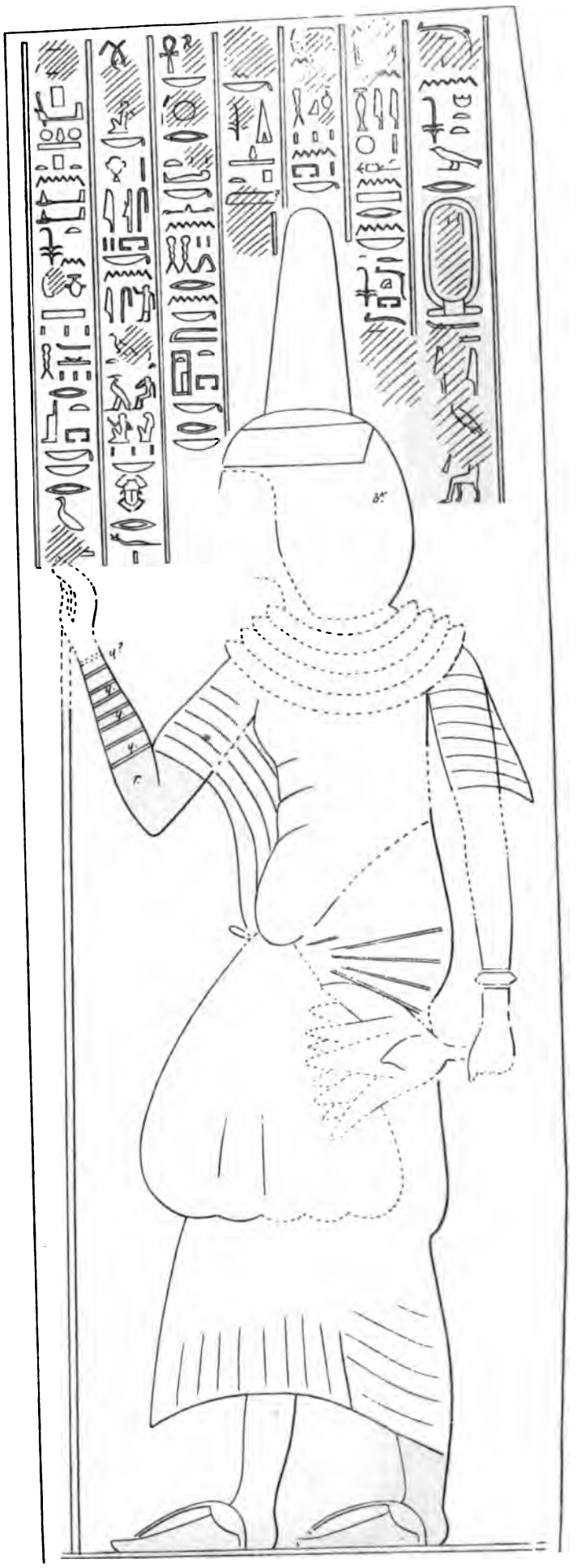
(*from Plate XVII.*)



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

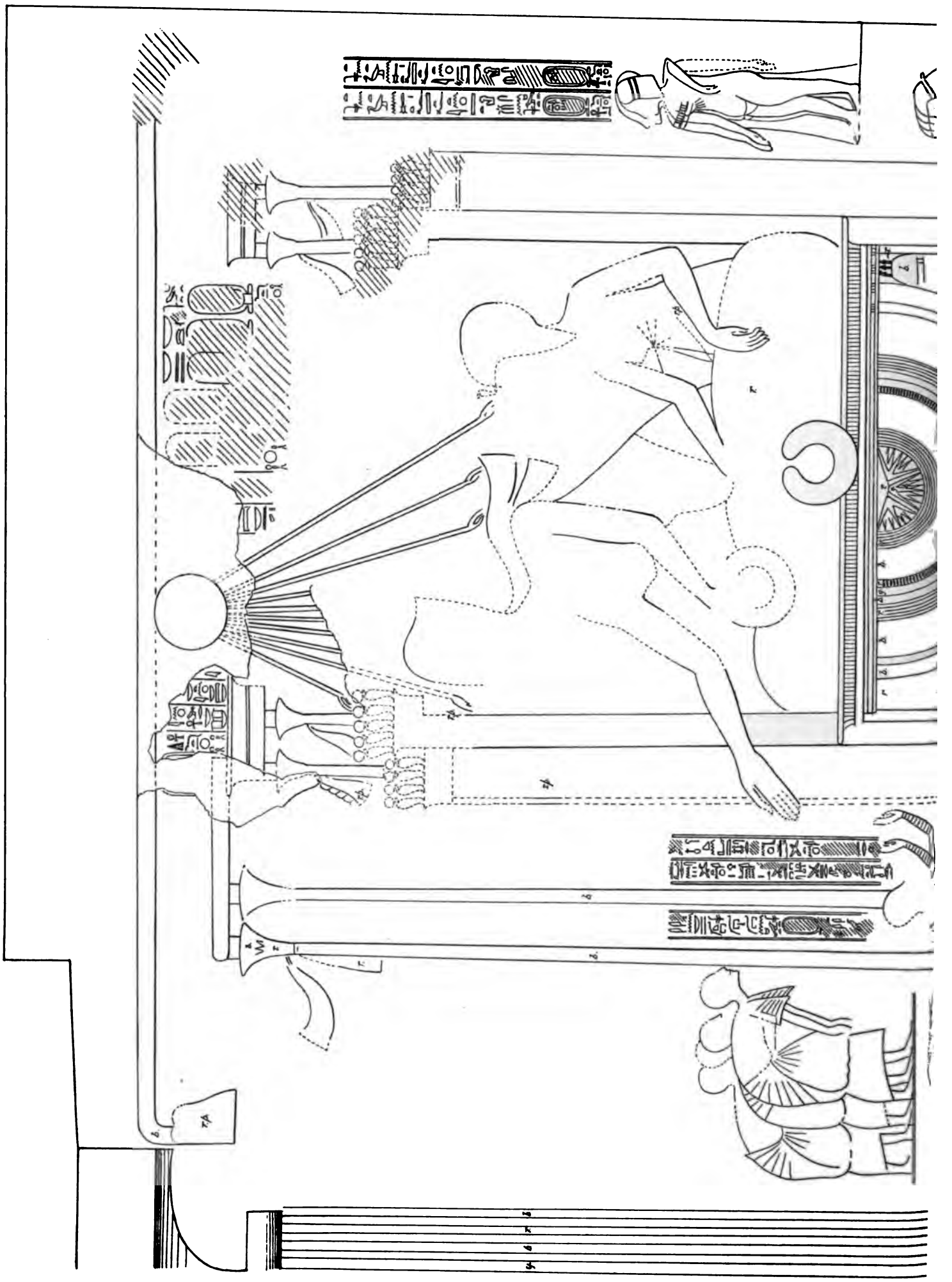


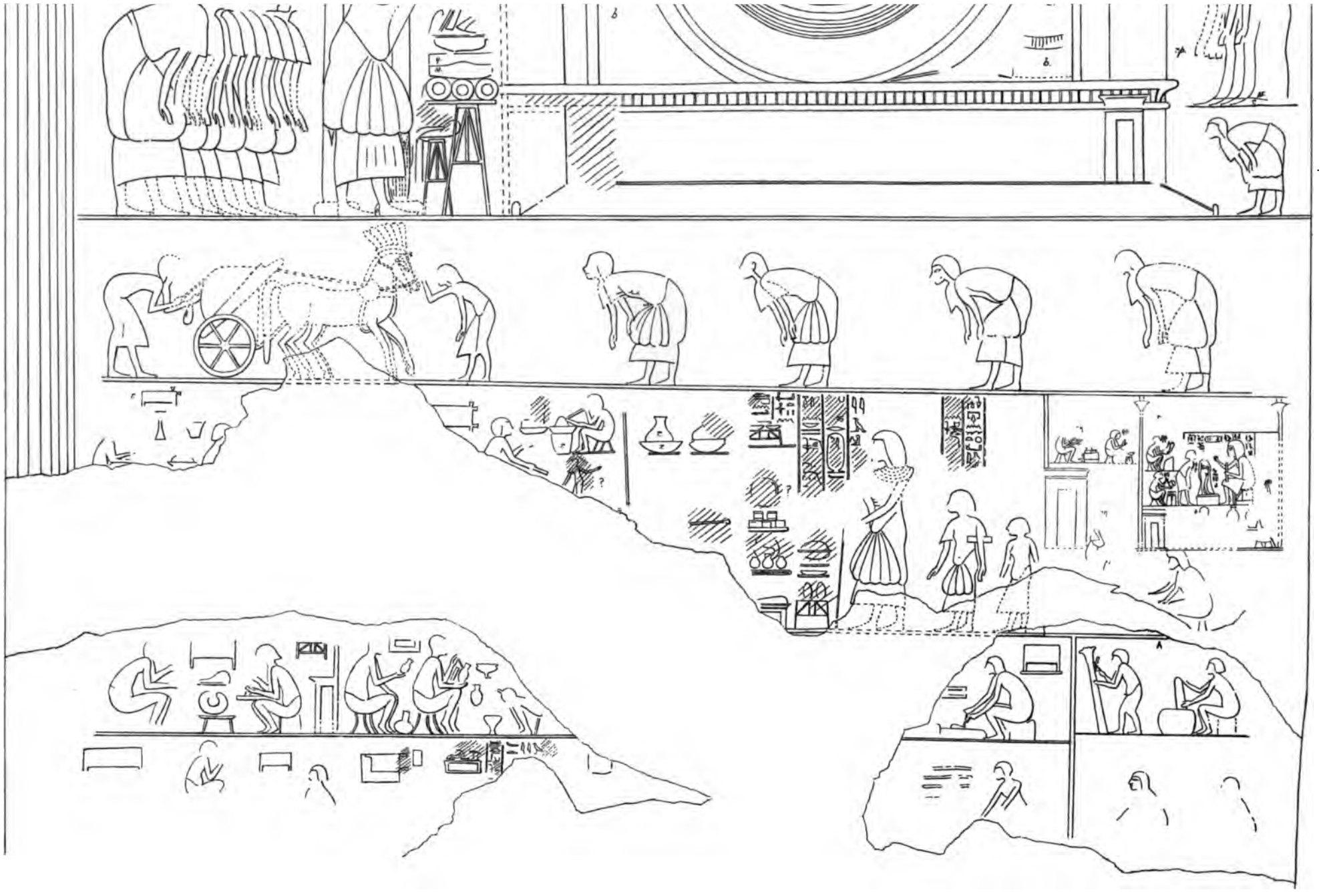
WEST THICKNESS.



EAST THICKNESS.

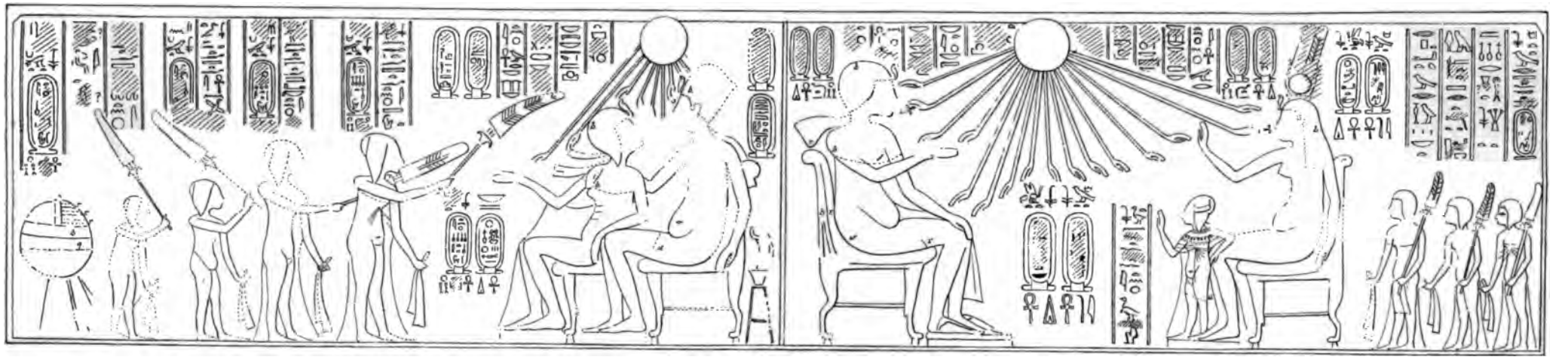
Scale $\frac{1}{8}$





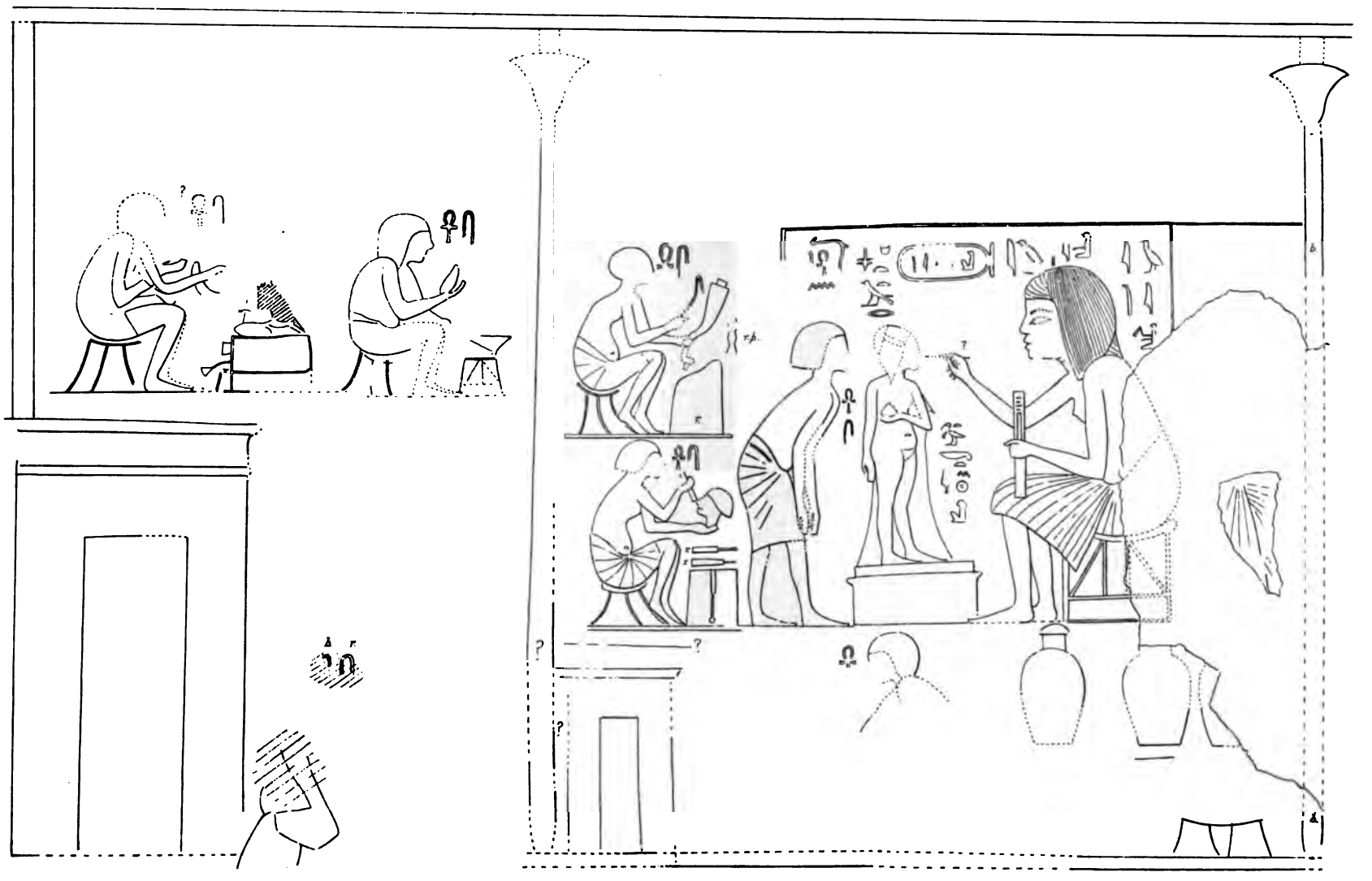
HUYA REWARDED BY THE KING.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$



Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

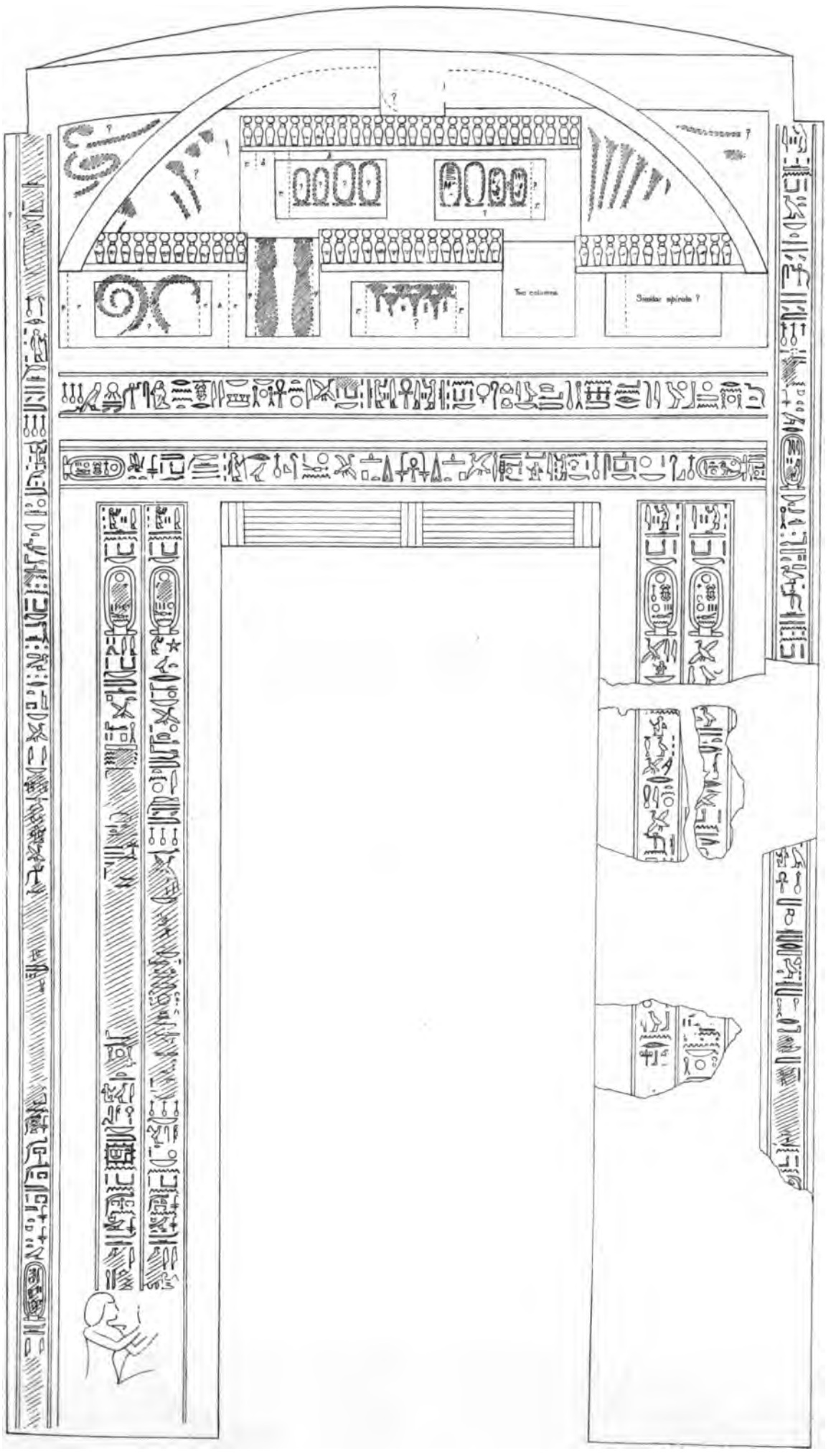
LINTEL—AMENHETEP III, AKHENATEN, AND THEIR FAMILIES.



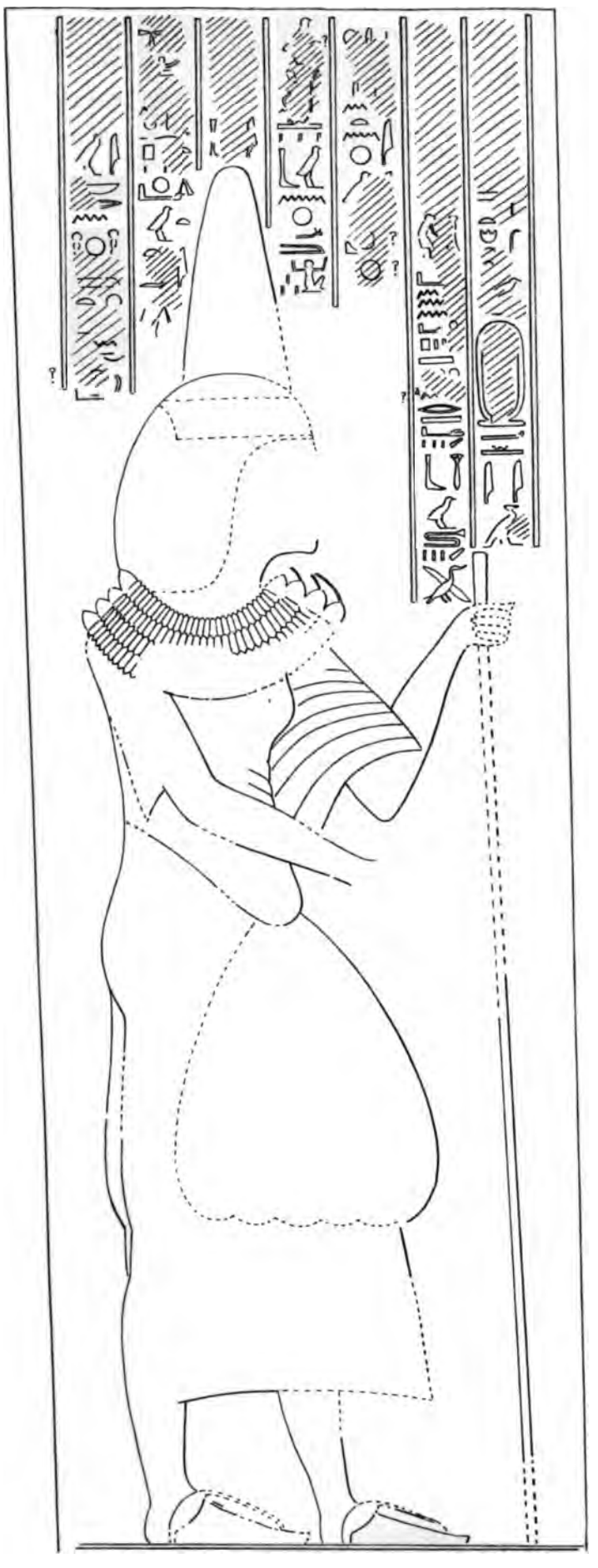
Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

THE STUDIO OF THE CHIEF SCULPTOR, AUTA.

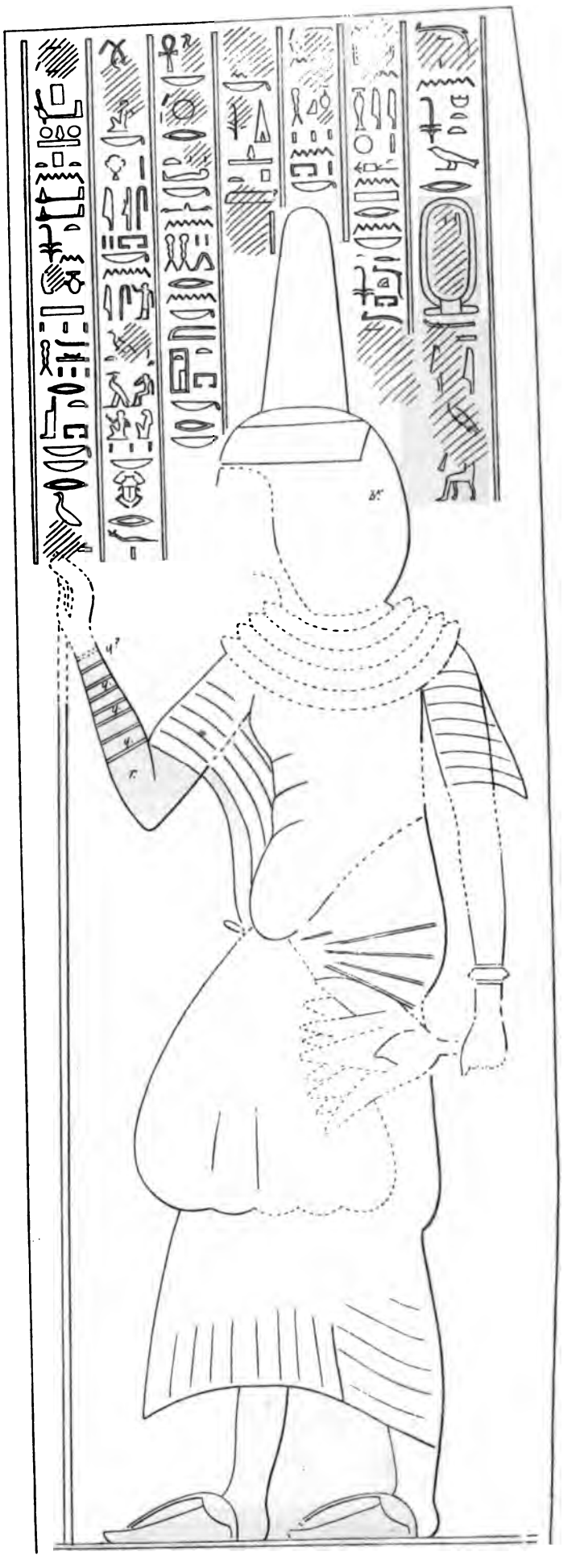
(*from Plate XVII.*)



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

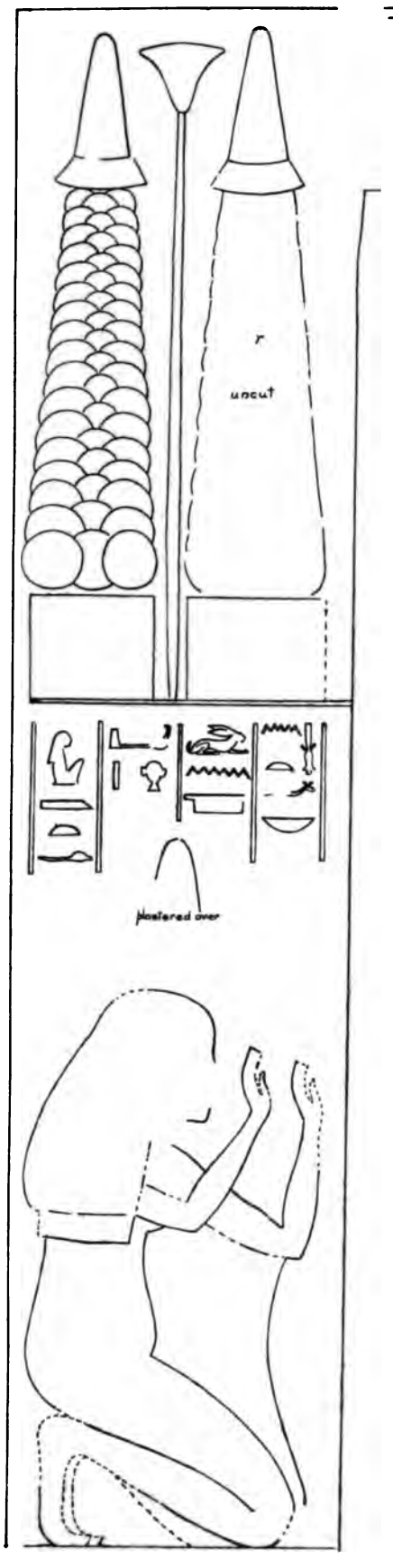


WEST THICKNESS.

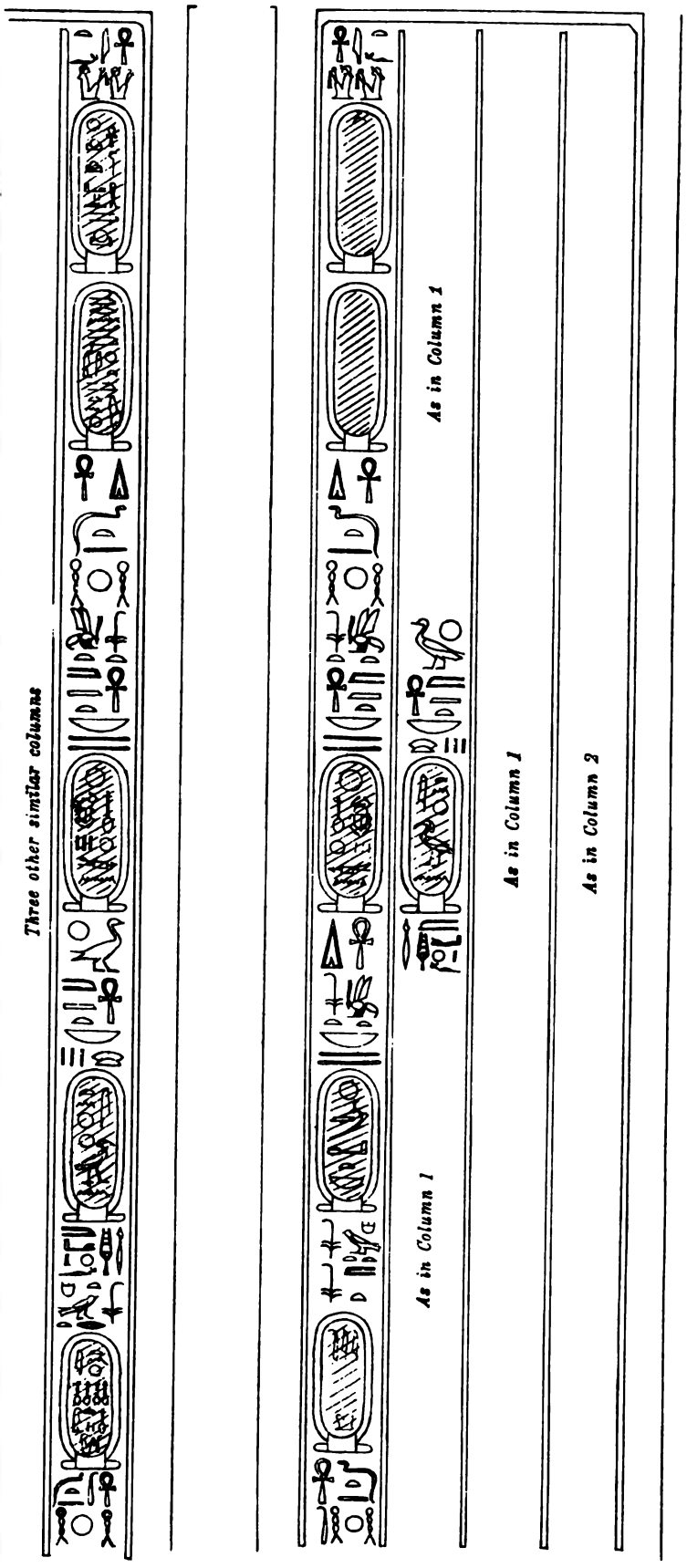


EAST THICKNESS.

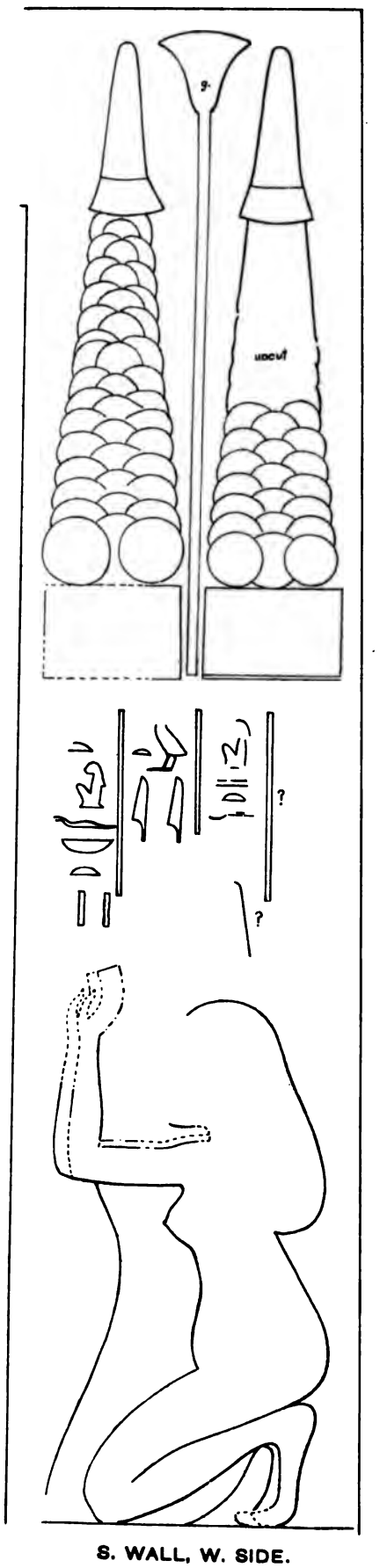
Scale $\frac{1}{6}$



S. WALL, E. SIDE.

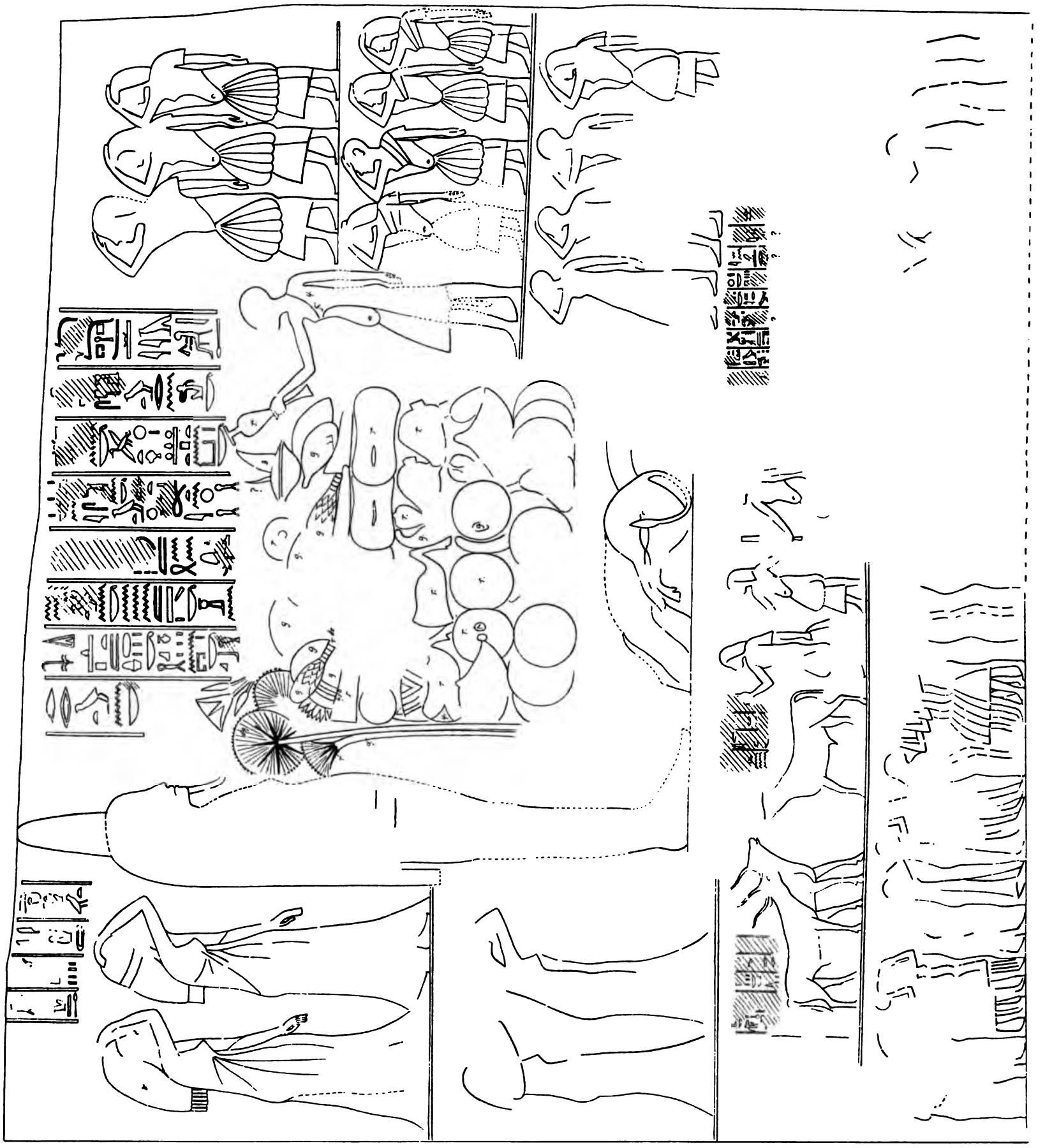


HALL-JAMBS OF N. DOOR.



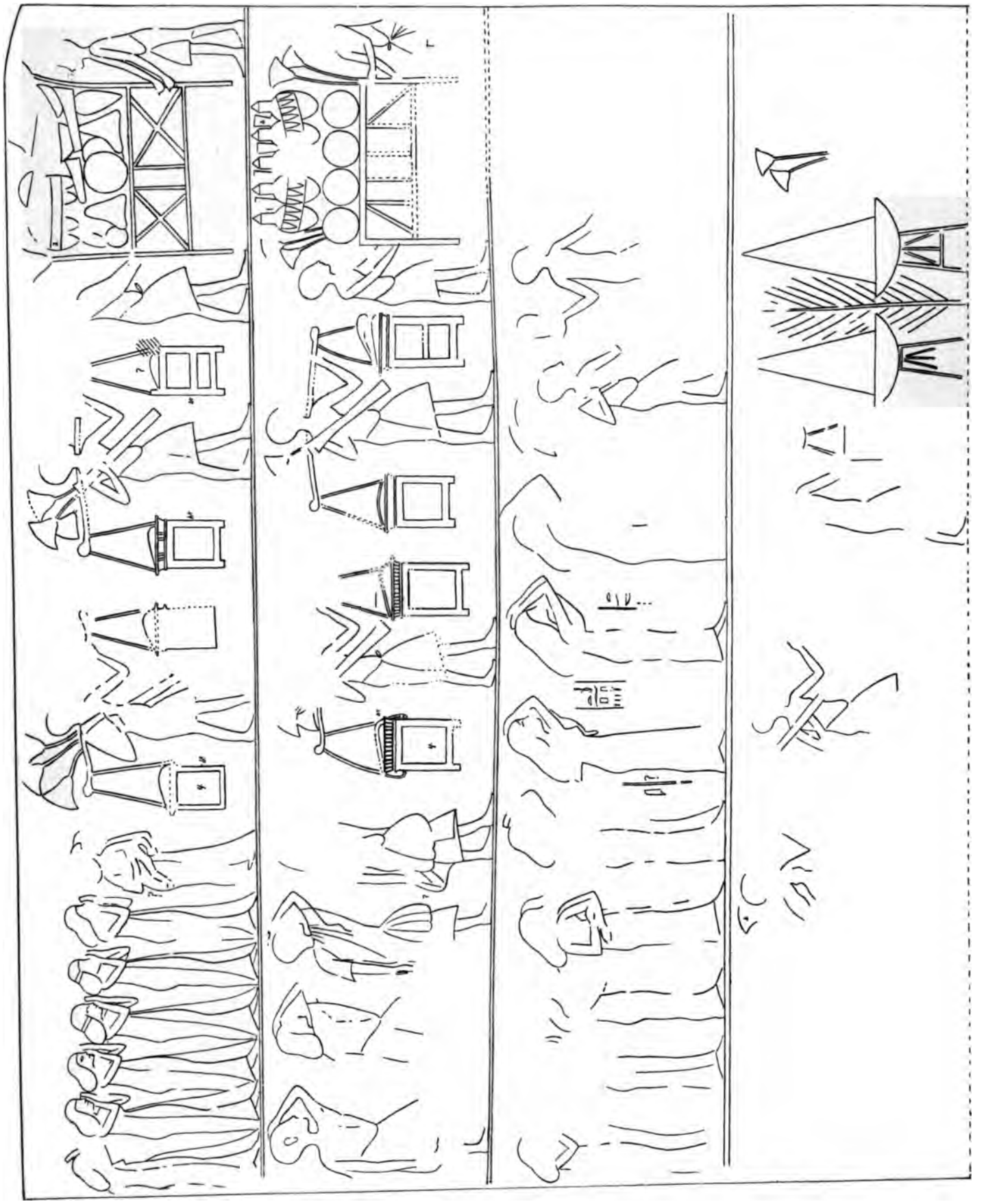
S. WALL, W. SIDE.

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$



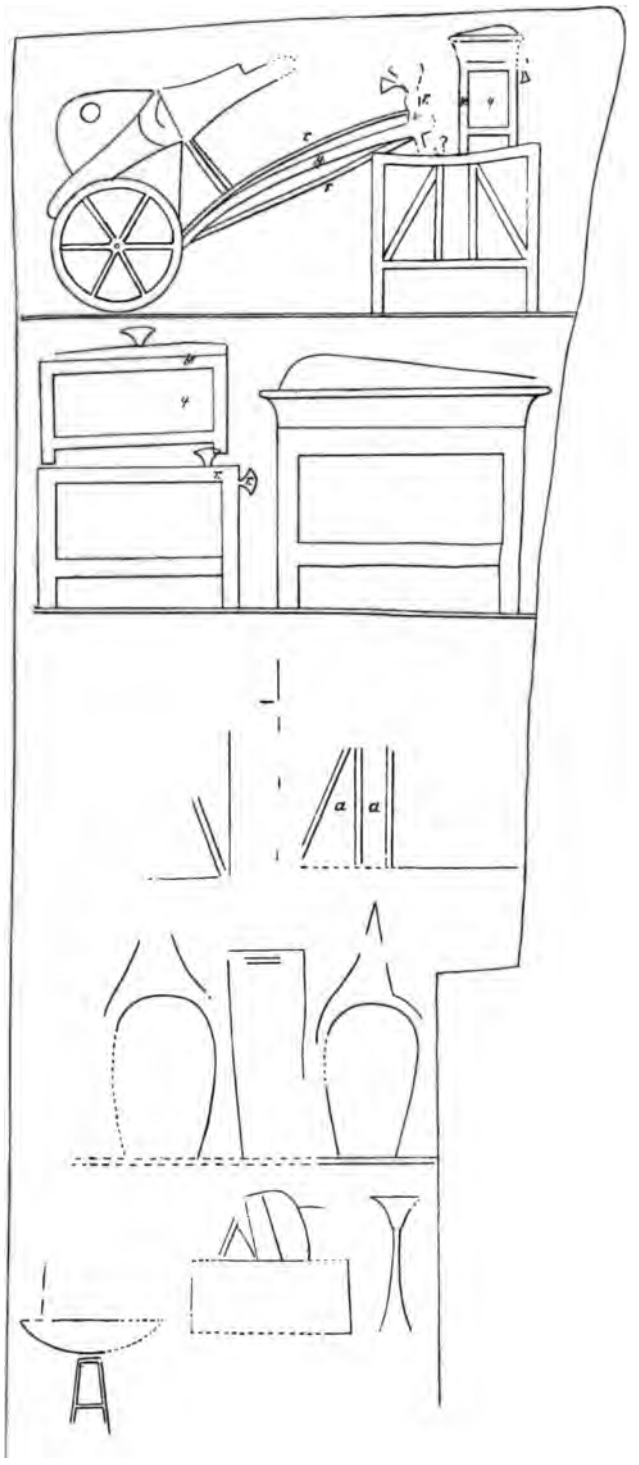
THE FUNERAL RITES

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

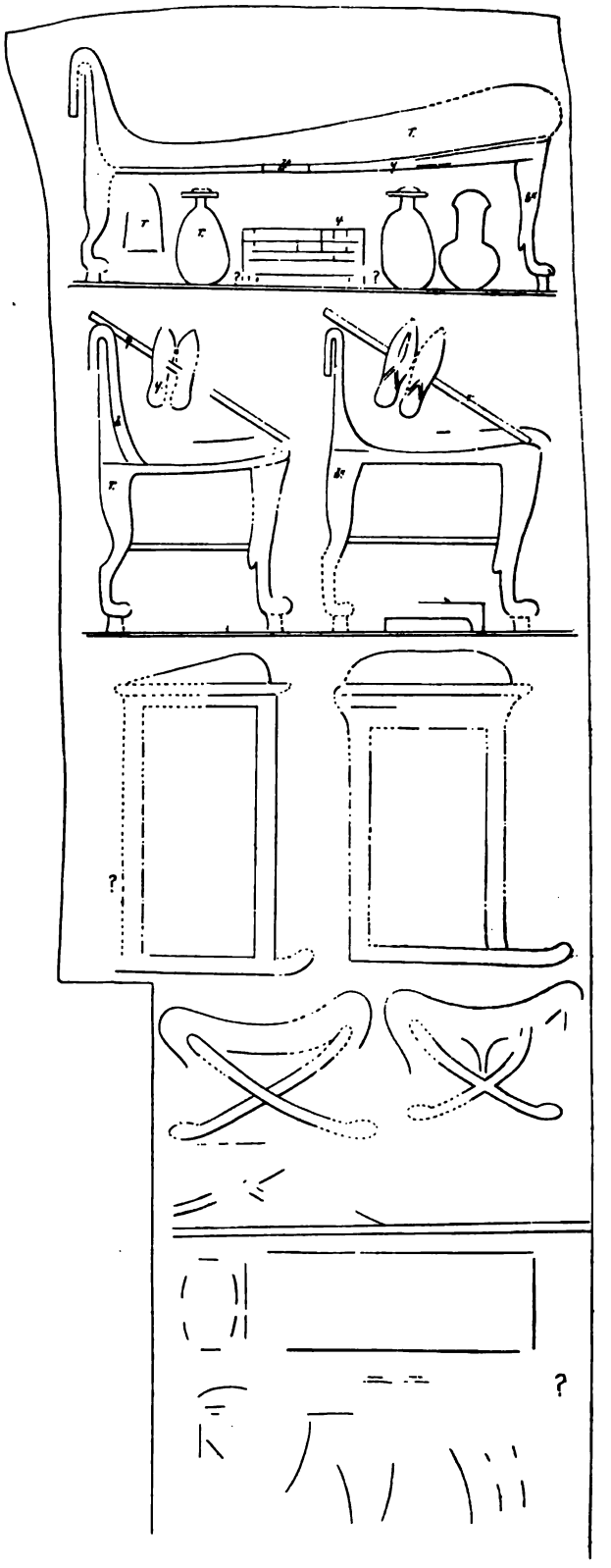


THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

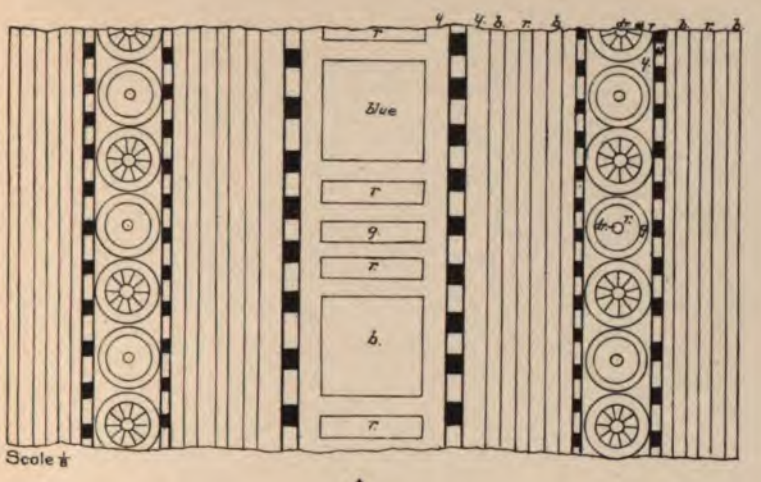


Sitting Statue of Huya

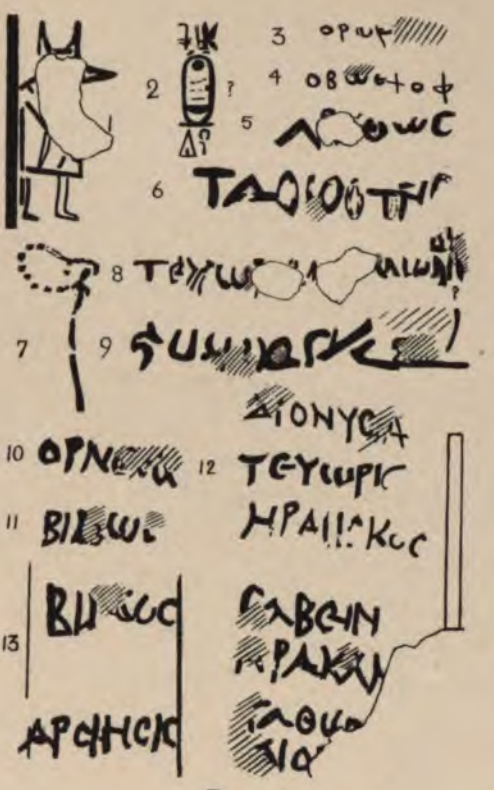


THE BURIAL FURNITURE.

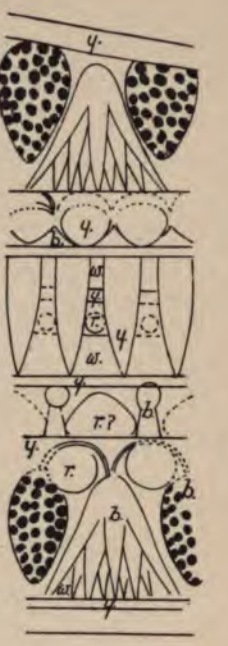
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$


Blue
Scale

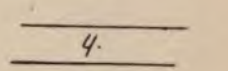
A



B



b.



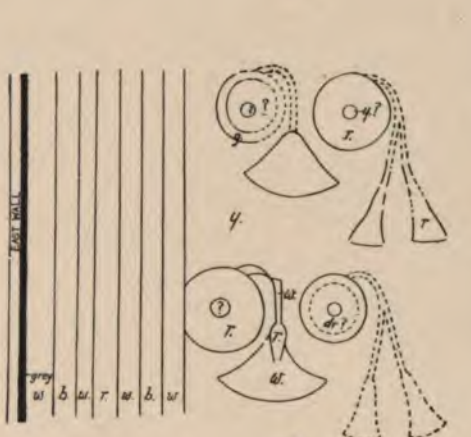
C

PORTICO

D

PORTICO

E

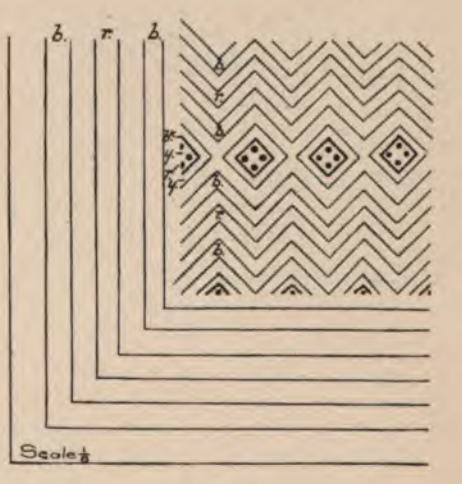

EAST ROW

F

G

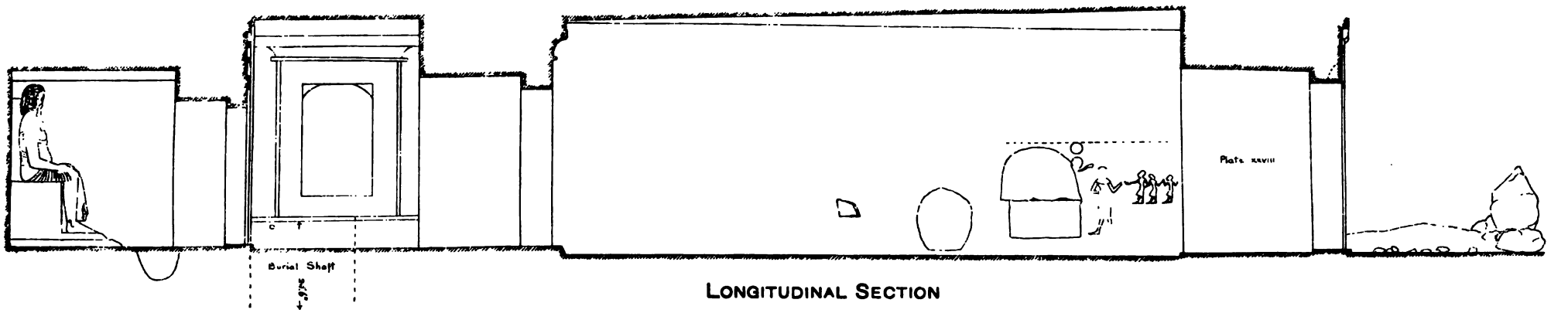
H

RED BASE LINES (PL. XXX)

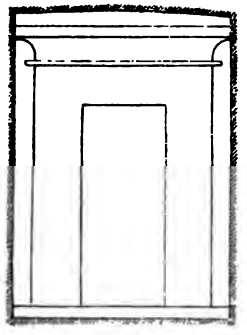

Scale

K

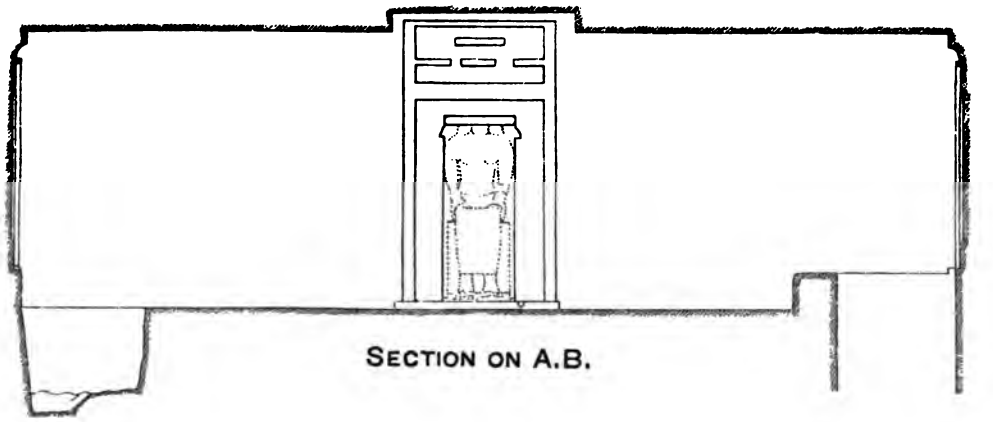
TOMB OF AHMES.



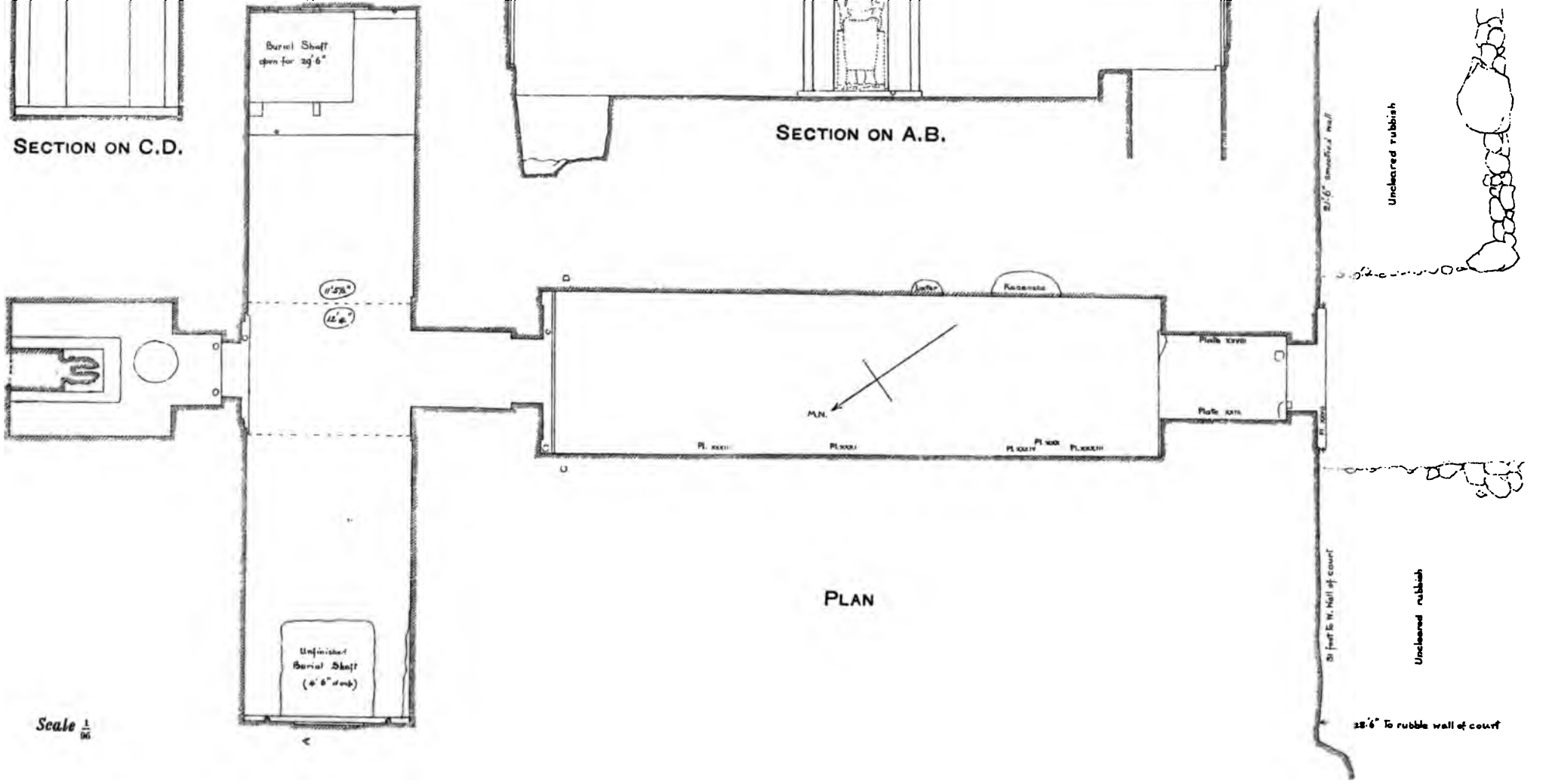
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



SECTION ON C.D.

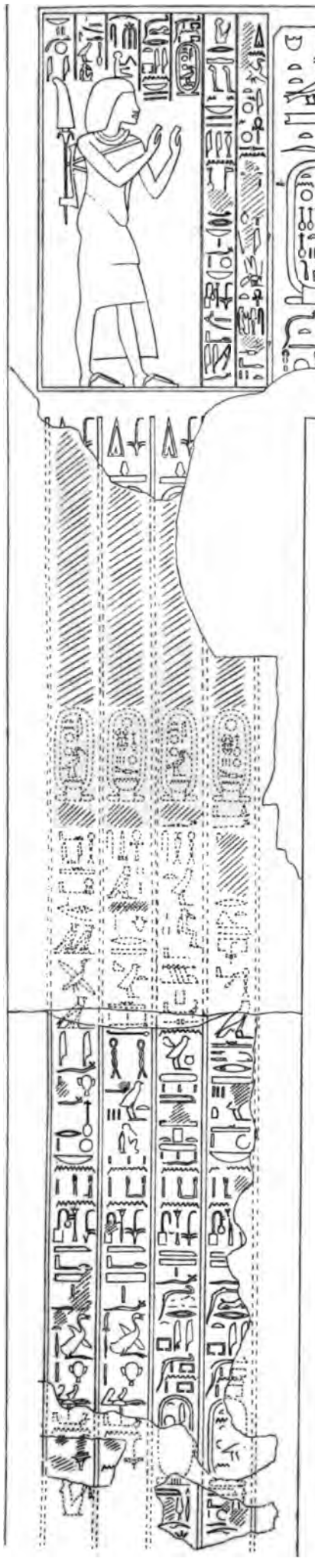


SECTION ON A.B.



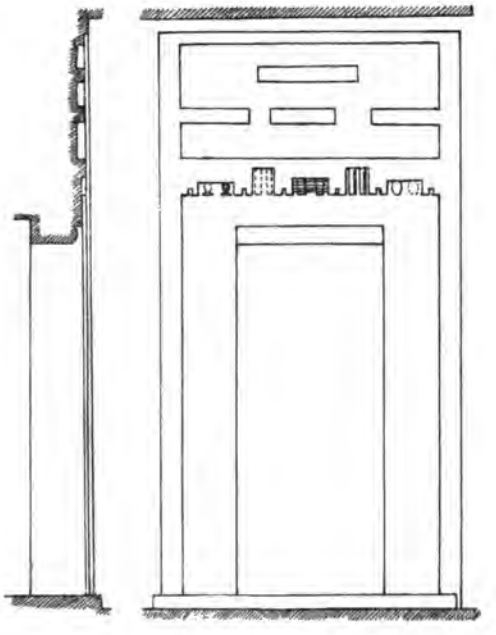
PLAN

Scale 1/96



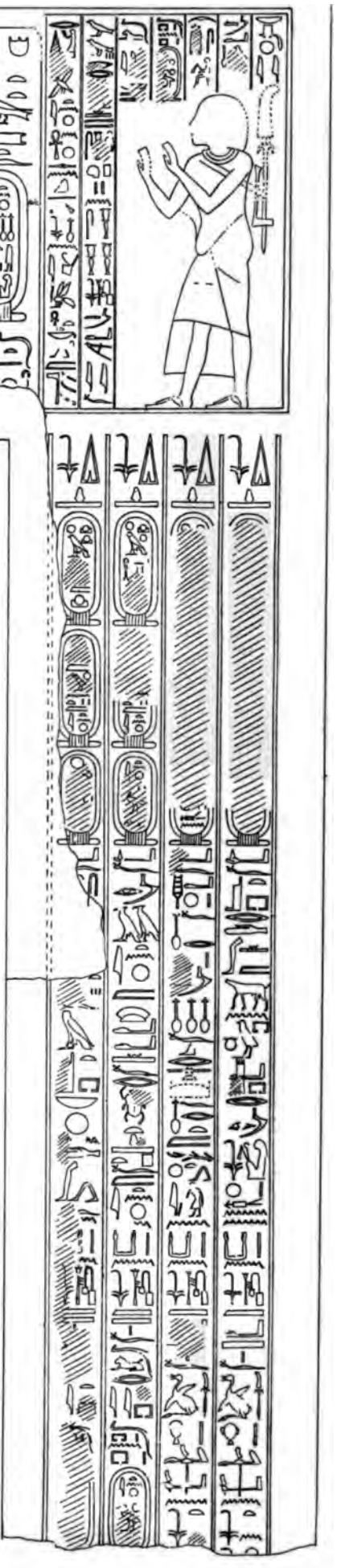
Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

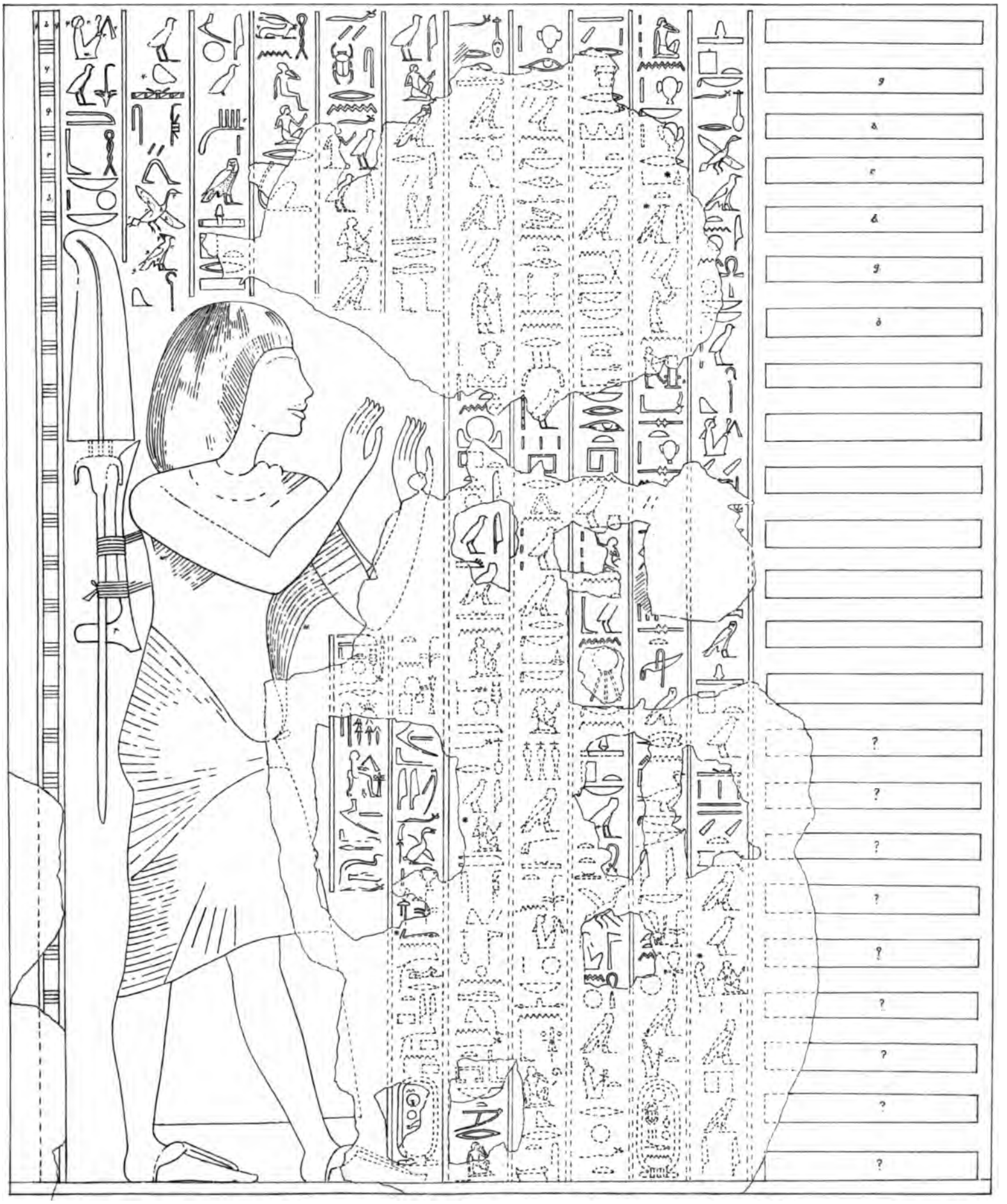
Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ HALL OF HUYA—FOOT OF JAMB.



DOORWAY OF SHRINE.

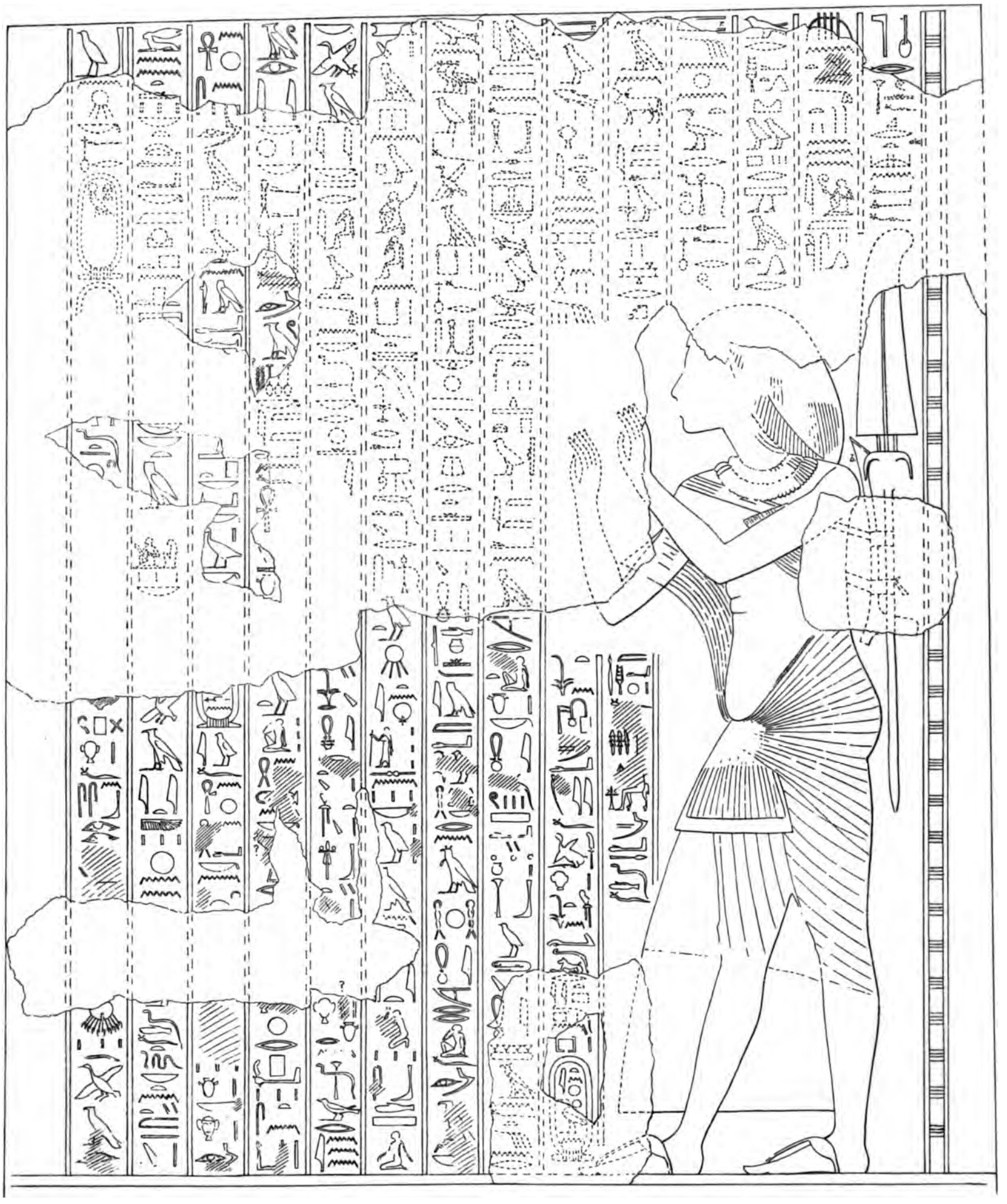
Scale $\frac{1}{48}$





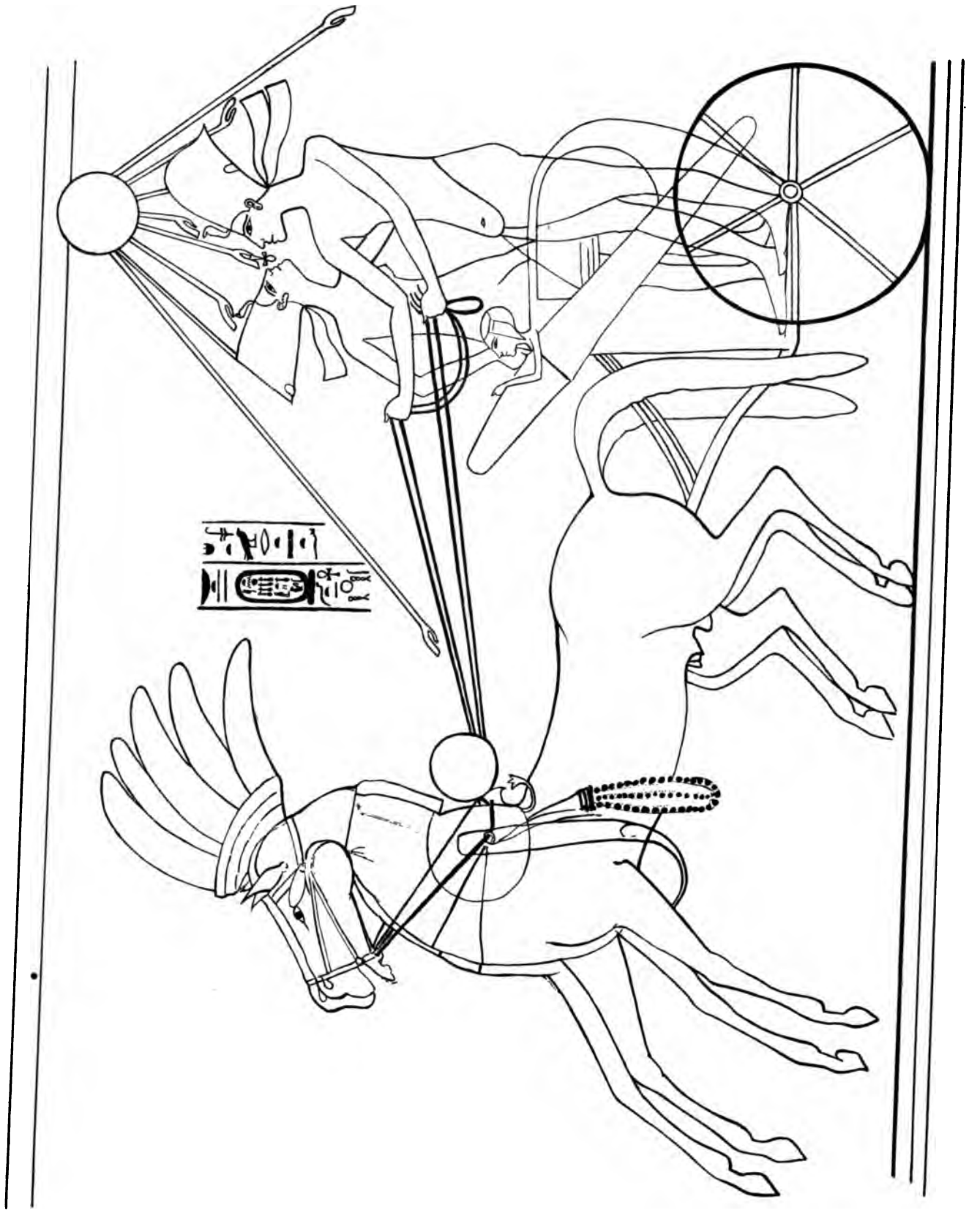
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

ADORATION OF THE SUN BY AHMES.



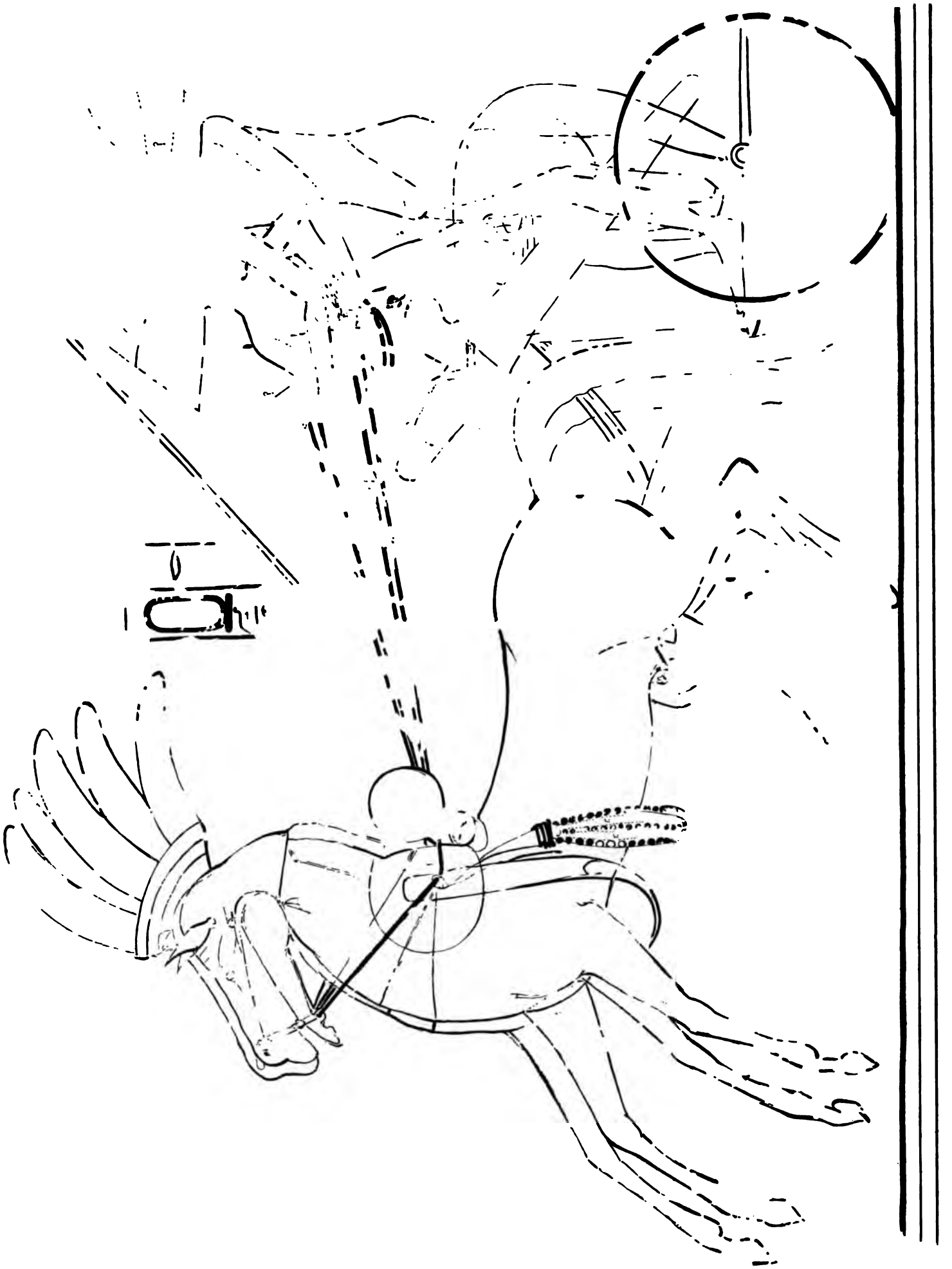
Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

HYMN TO THE RISING SUN.



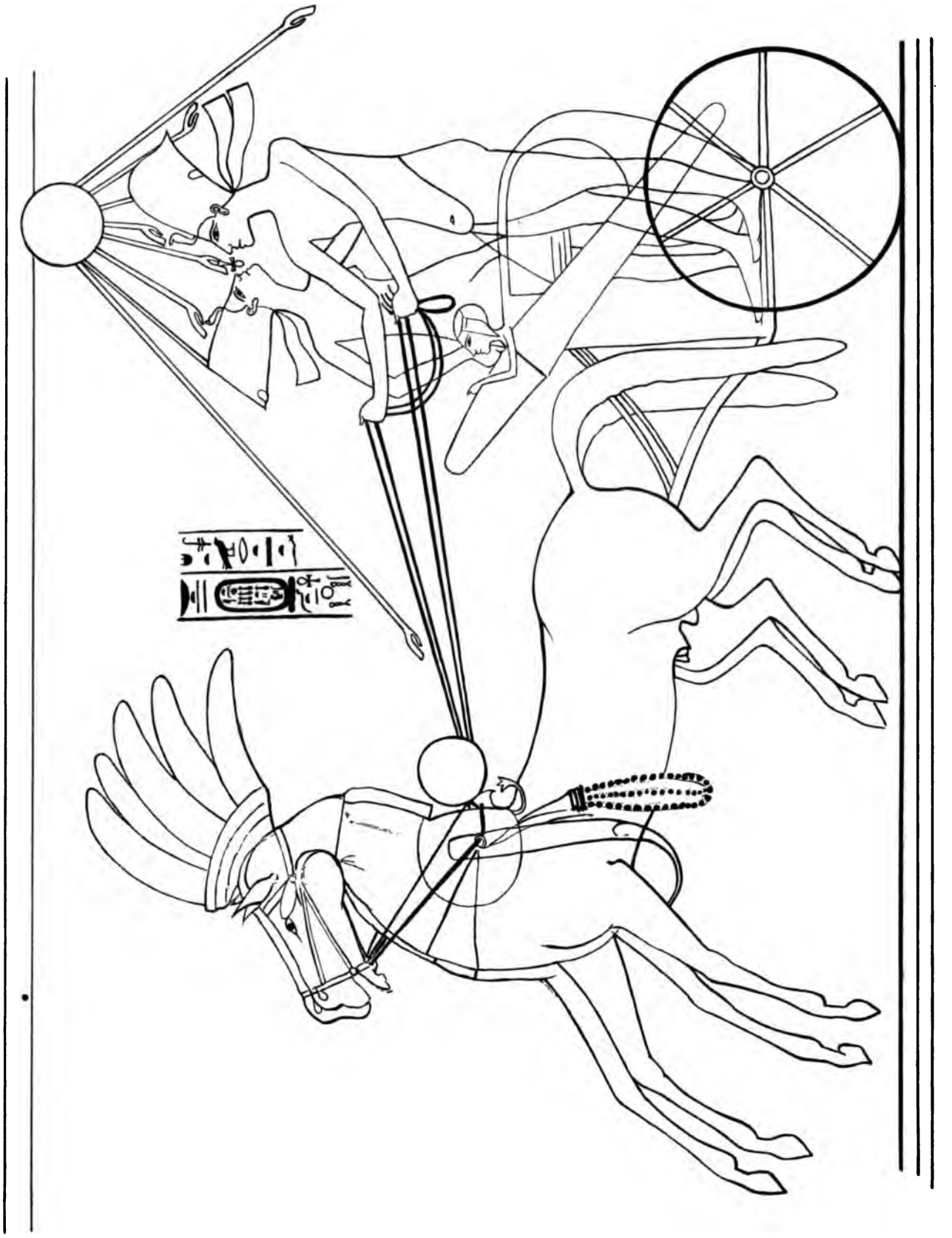
THE SAME (*Restored*).

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$



THE KING AND QUEEN IN THEIR CHARIOT.
(Ink design.)

Scale ½



THE SAME (*Restored*).

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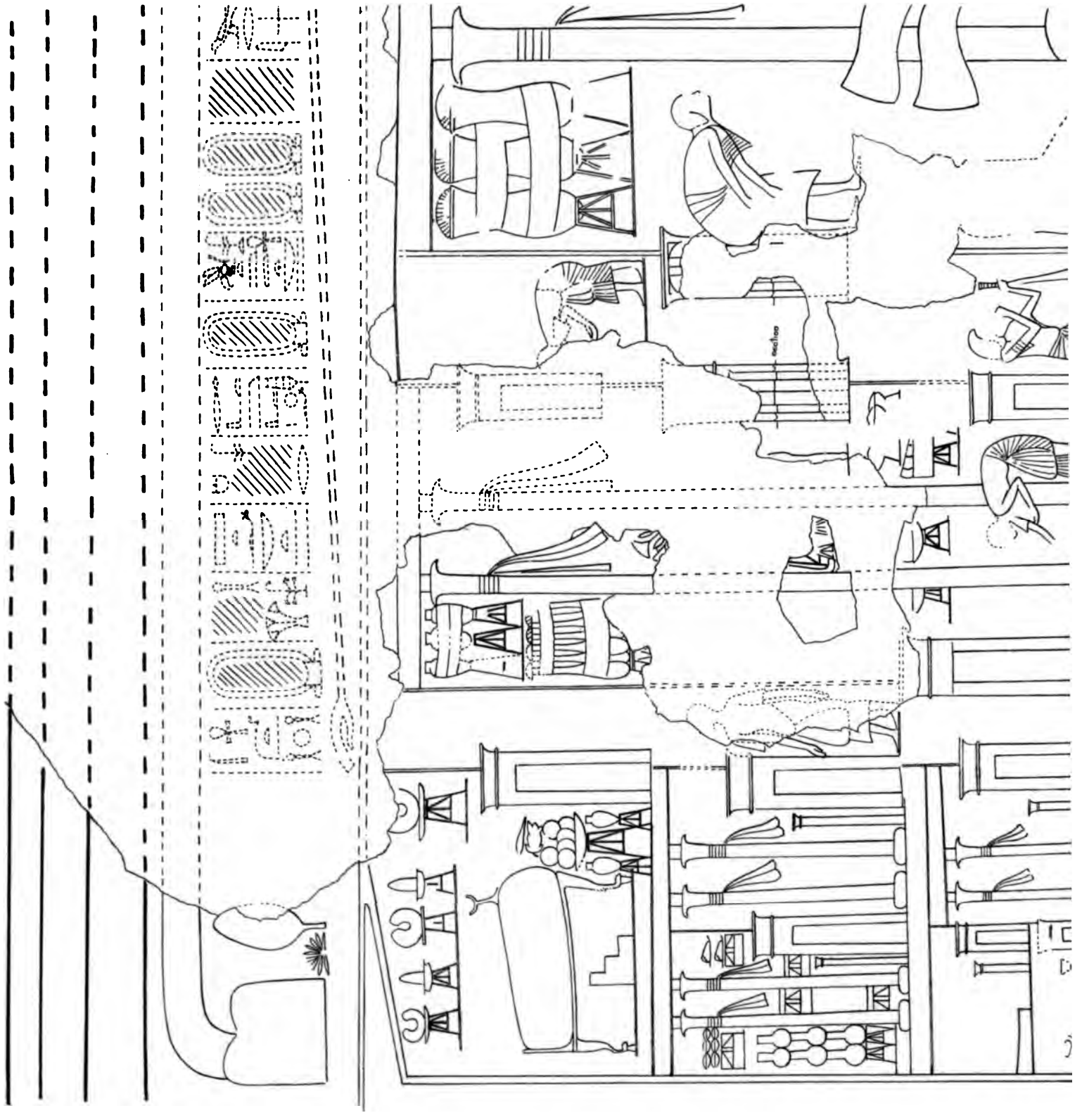
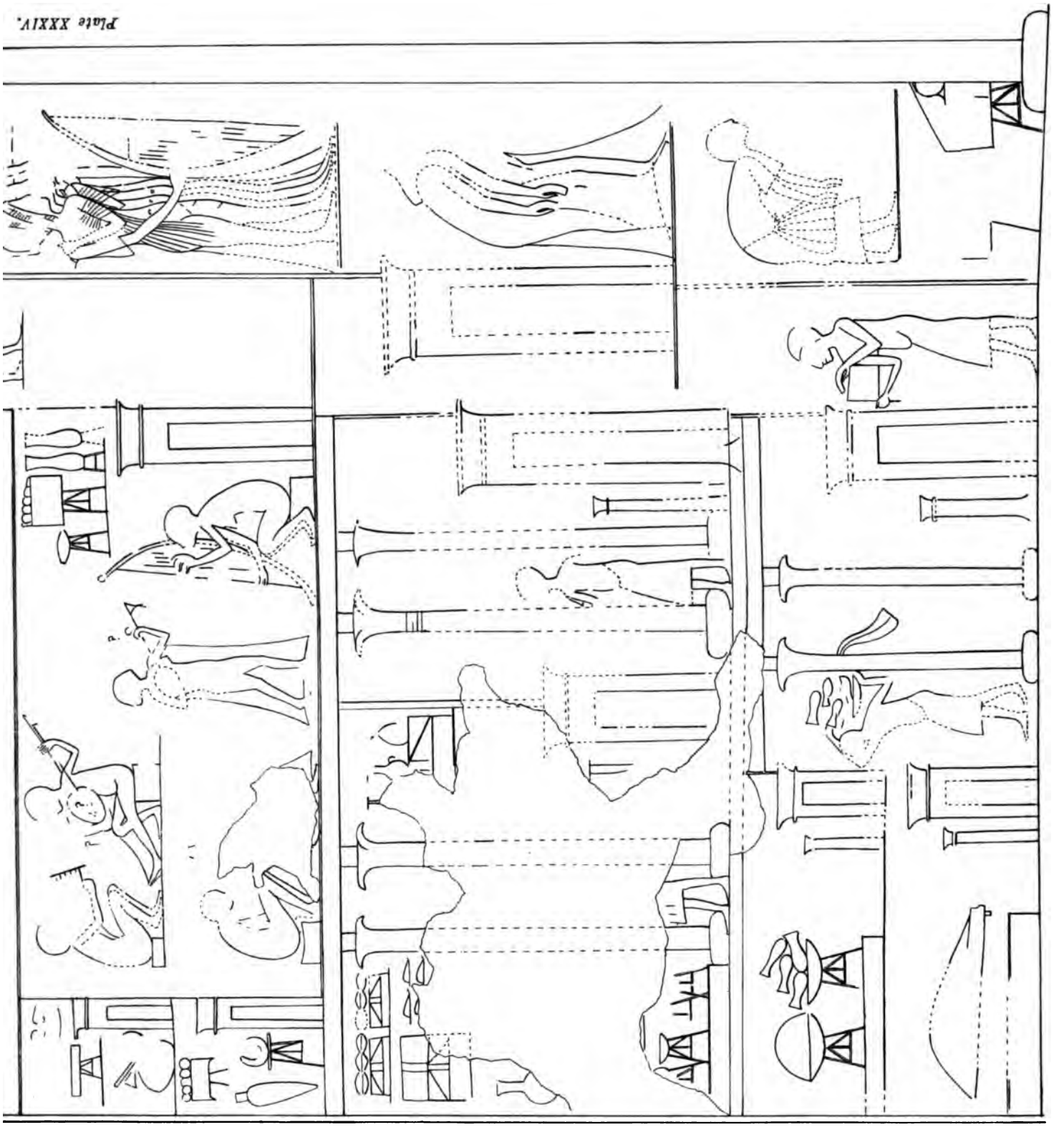
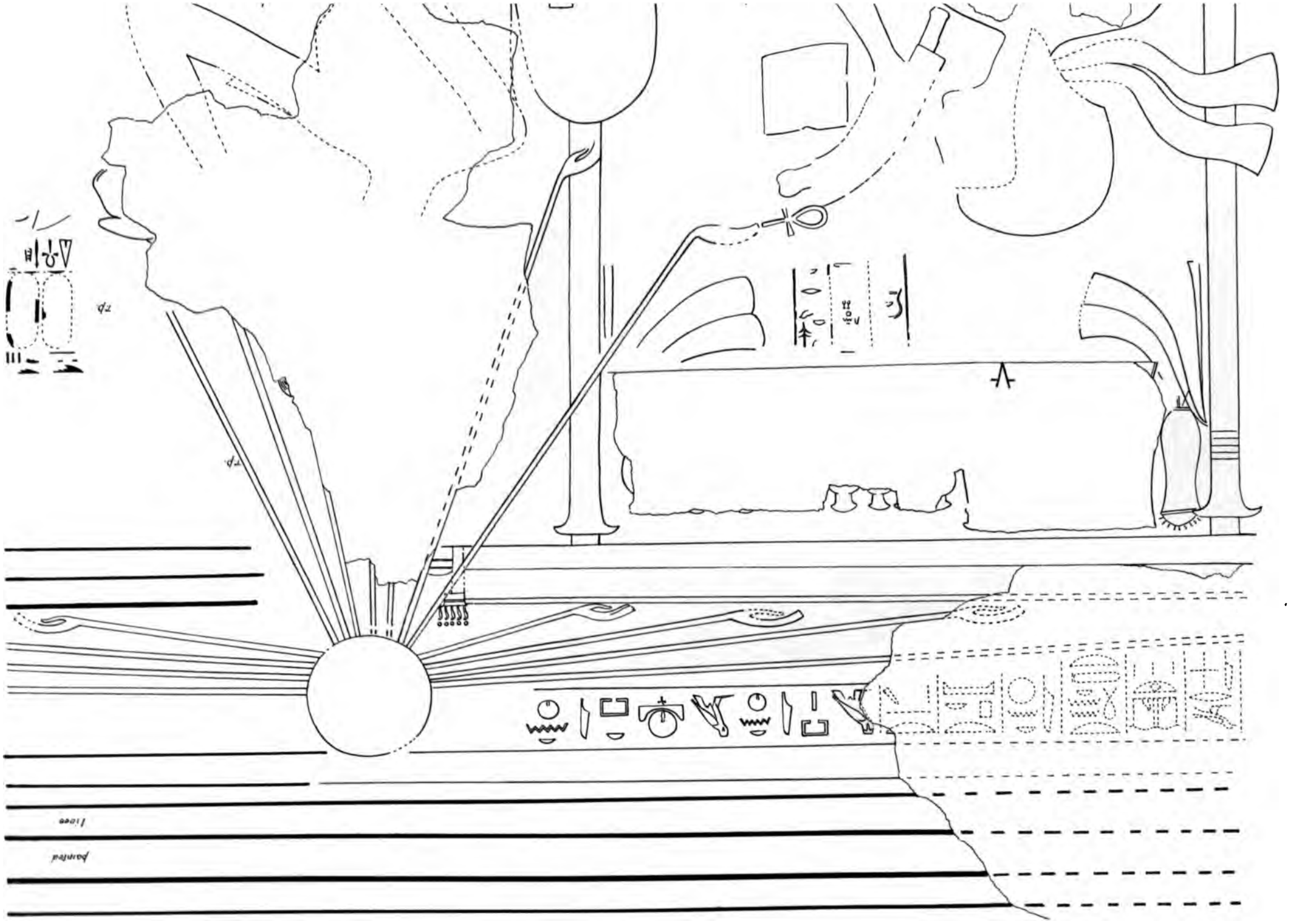




THE PALACE.

Scale 1

AHMES-WESI



EL AMARNA III.

PLATE XXXIV.

THE ROYAL FAMILY AT MEAT.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

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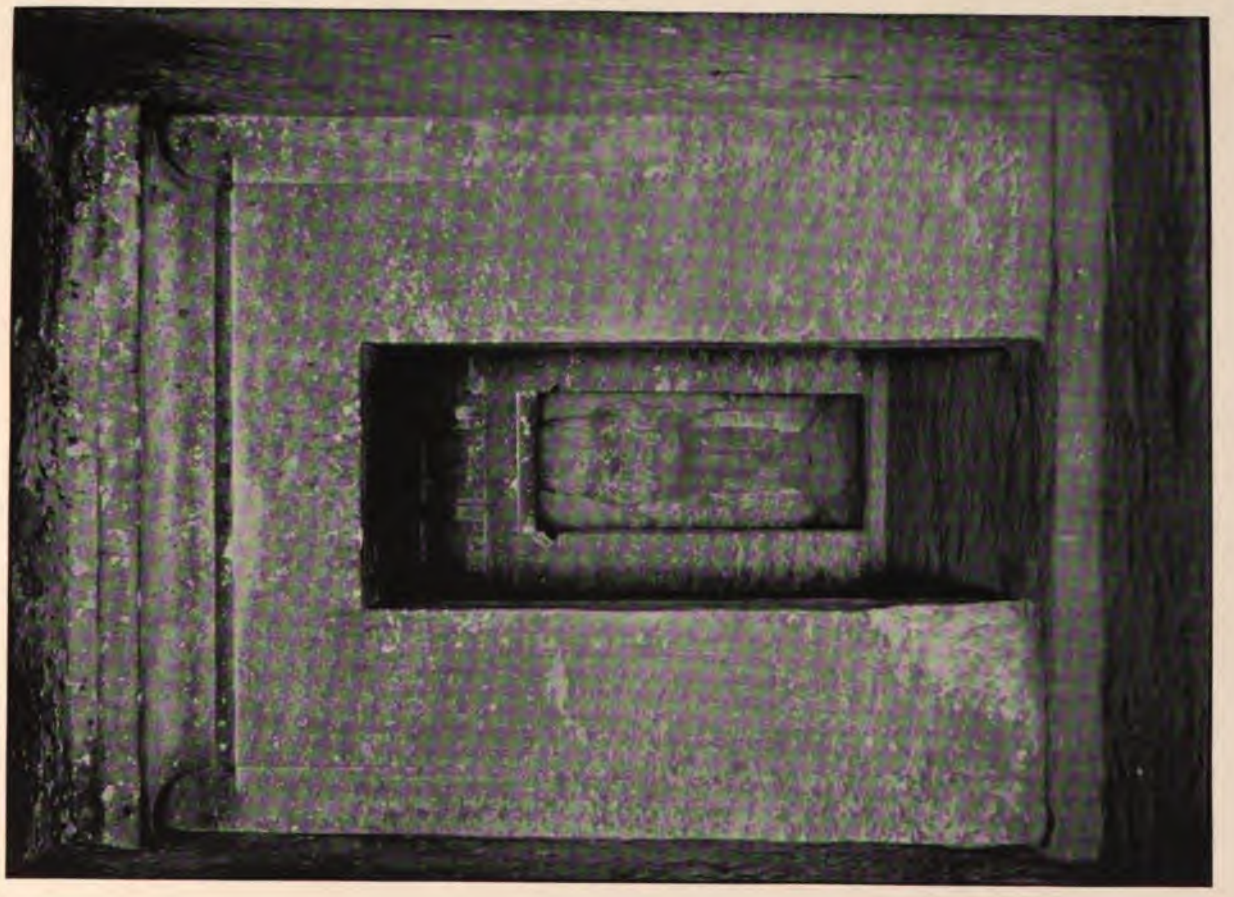
THE SHRINE.

THE HALL.

WEST THICKNESS.

EAST THICKNESS.

AHMES.



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